

The FORUM

Gazette

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By K.S. Khosla

Punjab Enters Second Stage Of Classical Terrorism

What made the Punjab government ultimately decide not to allow Jasbir Singh Rode, former Akal Takht jathedar, and the Damdani Taksal to hold a 'Sarbat Khalsa' in the Golden Temple on Diwali day? Was it the mounting criticism that Mr. Rode was a 'government agent in the Akali camp or the sudden spurt in killings after the government's assertion that the law and order situation was improving? Perhaps, both the reasons were responsible for the government's sudden show of business which made both Mr. Rode and the taksal to postpone the holding of the 'Sarbat Khalsa'.

But one fails to understand why the government has such a soft corner for Mr. Rode as the announcement regarding not allowing anyone to hold a 'Sarbat Khalsa' came too late in the day. Only about 10 days ago the Director-General of Police, Mr.

K.P.S. Gill, was non-committal about not allowing the holding of a 'Sarbat Khalsa' in the shrine. It was only after Mr. J.F. Rebeiro, Advisor to the Governor, came back from abroad on November 2 that an announcement was made that government will not allow holding of 'Sarbat Khalsa' in the Golden Temple. The DGP could not spell out clearly the government's policy on the issue. One found Shades of Mr. Chaman Lal, former Inspector General of Police (Border), in this as he had alleged while seeking leave that the man on the spot was not trusted and that decisions were taken in Delhi. He protested against this "remote control" of the Punjab situation,

particularly that of law and order.

Last year also the government had not allowed the militants to hold a 'Sarbat Khalsa' in the Golden Temple. The authorities had to impose curfew in areas around the shrine to prevent the militants from entering the temple. The militants had made the Akali leaders irrelevant and refused to recognise the Shiromani Gurdwara Prabandhak Committee. They went a step further by excommunicating Mr. Parkash Singh Badal and Mr. Gurcharan Singh Tohra from the panth and removing the acting jathedar of the Akal Takht, Prof. Darshan Singh Ragi. They appointed Mr. Gurbachan Singh Manochal as Akal Takht

chief, who still carries an award of rupees one lakh for his arrest. In short, the militants challenged all the three institutions of the Shihs, namely, the Akal Takht, the SGPC and the Akali Dal (both factions), besides the government.

The situation this year is somewhat different. Last year the Akalis were ambivalent. The Akalis and the SGPC leaders opposed the holding of a 'Sarbat Khalsa' and yet they decried the arrest of three priests who supported the call for a 'Sarbat Khalsa', Prof. Darshan Singh Ragi refused to go back to the Golden Temple till it was freed of the militants. This year there is more determination on the part of the Akalis and the SGPC leaders

to face the militants. In fact, they have already sacked Mr. Rode and other priests and appointed incumbents including Prof. Darshan Singh in their place. Prof. Darshan Singh is no longer afraid to go to the temple after Operation Black Thunder. The SGPC is now in almost full control of the temple complex and it is hoped that its general house will be able to meet in the complex area to elect the executive committee on November 30.

Last year the SGPC met at Anadpur and elected two sets of office bearers as the Barnala and Badal factions held separate

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It's Hadlee!

AND MANY MORE

Plus: Our Regular Features

Mrs Gandhi's Assassination

Third Person Involved: Says Former Congress MP

By Our Special Correspondent

Dr. Satyanarayan Sinha 29-Western Court,
(Former Member Lok Sabha) New Delhi-110001.

Dear Madhu,

On 31st October, 1984 I was in my Birmingham House.

At 6 A.M. (Local time) when I switched on my television I saw Ustinov's telecast from 1 Safdarjang New Delhi.

In that television film I saw a person other than the two security guards putting a stengun on Beant Singh's shoulder and firing. The next moment Prime Minister Indira Gandhi shrieked and fell dead. This is for your information and necessary perusal.

With kind regards,

Prof. Madhu Dandavate
Leader of Janata Party
in Parliament
New Delhi-110001.

Yours Sincerely,

Satyanarayan Sinha
(Satyanarayan Sinha)

not examine some of the most important eye-witnesses like R.K. Dhawan, personal secretary of Mrs Gandhi, who was nearest to her at the time of her assassination and Peter Ustinov who was to shoot the T.V. programme on Mrs Gandhi at that time.

Peter Ustinov's examination becomes very important in view of a letter written by a former Congress Member of Parliament, Dr Satyanarayan Sinha, to Prof. Madhu Dandavate, MP. This letter was written on 28 July 1986 and was published in the daily, *Nai Dunia*, from Indore. The letter reads:

"On 31st October, 1984 I was in my Birmingham House. At 6 A.M. (local time) when I switched on my television, I saw Ustinov's telecast from 1 Safdarjang, New Delhi. In that television film I saw a person other than the two security guards putting a stengun on Beant Singh's shoulder and firing. The next moment Prime Minister Indira Gandhi shrieked and fell dead. This

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Letters

Kehar Singh Is Trapped

Your article on Kehar Singh titled 'Give Life To This Man' (FORUM GAZETTE 5-19 Nov 1988) has been timely and thought provoking. Your author's bold arguments are based on facts. We have staged such huge extravaganzas as 'Human Rights Now', but God alone knows how far that we are away from even the basic principles of human rights and it is unfathomable.

Kehar Singh is trapped. And it is time for the right-thinking people to launch a campaign to get him released

Bombay Ravi Kumar

Bad Campaign

This has reference to your cover story 'Congress(I) Election Campaign Launched' (5-19 Nov 1988 FORUM GAZETTE). The article has enable the readers to think from a different point of view.

But one aspect I would like to mention is that by giving much emphasis on Mrs Gandhi's death anniversary the government has also succeeded in parting further the Hindus and the Sikhs. Why the government took October 31 instead of November 19? We celebrate November 14ths and October 2nds. Why don't we give the slightest importance to January 30?

As long as the illiterate and ill-informed Hindu masses believe that Mrs Gandhi was assassinated by Sikhs, thanks to the government media, the government's election strategy is bound to have success.

This is a bad campaign. This attitude and style of functioning will

take the nation to disintegration. If the government does not understand the fact, does not understand to make short-term gains, how a nation like India can survive with all its diversities?

Trivandrum ACM Firoz

Prime Minister Should Not Visit China

Mr S. Nihal Singh's article, 'Right Time To Make Peace With China', (FORUM GAZETTE, 5-19 November 1988) came at the right time. But the author failed to mention the undercurrents in the Indo-China relations.

Our Prime Minister is visiting China even without a formal invitation. This will surely undermine the credibility of the prime ministership. Prime Minister is hurrying to China not to make peace but to create confusion. Mr Rajiv Gandhi won't be able to make any major breakthrough, instead he will bring the relations to a state where the relations with our most of the other neighbours are.

India has such very serious border problems with China. We have seen China's arrogance when we gave state status to Sikkim and Arunachal Pradesh. We have seen its attitude towards the Tibet. There is every chance that our Prime Minister will sign some kind of an accord during his visit. No substantial negotiations have taken place yet to solve the border problem or other serious issues which stand in the way of cordial relation between the two countries. If the Prime Minister does not sign such agreement, what else he can bring home. If some trade or cultural agreements are made, that would be too small for our visiting Prime Minister to sign. The concerned Cabinet Minister could have done it.

Inerore, the right time for our Prime Minister to visit China has, not come yet. Our Prime Minister and the ruling elites must be thinking that an accord with China will help them show the people that they have done something great, as the election campaign would be

gaining momentum.

New Delhi
Yohannan Thomas (Sunny)

Happy News

It is a happy news for the sports-loving readers that you have introduced sports in your magazine.

This step will definitely help your magazine take off. Statistics say that about 60 percent of the people subscribe to newspapers only to read the sports pages. I am one of them.

New Delhi Arvinder Singh

Thank You

I am happy to see that through the last few issues your magazine has improved a lot. I would be glad, as hundreds of other reads, if you introduce more and more current news items.

I also thank you for your impartial and dauntless presentation.

New Delhi K.R. Mohan Kumar

Readers are requested to send in their letters typed or neatly handwritten and addressed to the Editor, The Forum Gazette, 3 Masjid Road, Jangpura, New Delhi 110 014. The letters may be edited for clarity.

Sound And Fury

We can now speak the most majestic words a democracy has to offer: the people have spoken.

- Mr George Bush.

I'm just basically a guy who loves my wife, loves my family, loves what I'm doing.

- Mr Michael Dukakis.

Come January, I'm going to be riding off into the sunset.

- Mr Ronald Reagan.

From Kashmir to Kanyakumari, there is no alternative to the Congress(I).

- Mr Buta Singh.

The main defect in our party is that it is concentrated in Delhi and the State capitals.

- Mr A.K. Antony.

I spend more time with the poor than I think any other Prime Minister did.

- Mr Rajiv Gandhi.

I want to sacrifice my life in the service of farmers and down-trodden.

- Mr Ram Jethmalani.

Rajivji, with folded hands I plead with you not to make any person as Number Two in your Cabinet. Whoever occupies the Number Two chair just gets mentally damaged.

- Mr Vasant Sathe.

He (Mr Rajiv Gandhi) is playing hide-and-seek with the people.

- Mr V.P. Singh.

As a crusader for clean politics, he (Mr V.P.Singh) must give a full account of his own glass house before he throws stones at others.

- Mr K.K. Tewari.

Whenever the Opposition does not cheer me, I know I am doing something right.

- Mr Rajiv Gandhi.

When I listened to Mr Pitroda with all his talk of pushing buttons, I thought I was already in the 21st century. It was only later when I went to the toilet that I realized we must be in the 19th century.

- Mr Bal Thackeray.

I was not committed too much to the means as to the end, because I am no Gandhian.

- Mr H.N.Bahuguna.

We don't consider newspapers as adversaries.

- Mr H.K.L. Bhagat.

Communism won't survive.

- Mr Milovan Djilas.

Let newspapermen write what they want to write, but 20 years later—or maybe 25 years later—they will hail our ideology.

- Mr Rajiv Gandhi.

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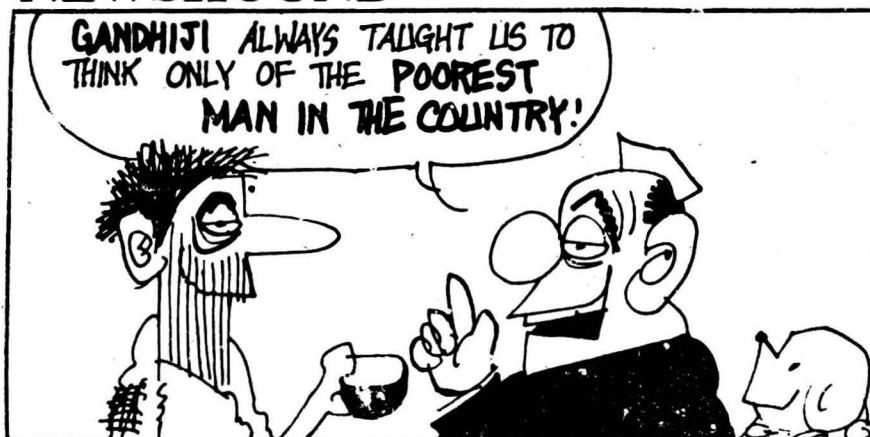
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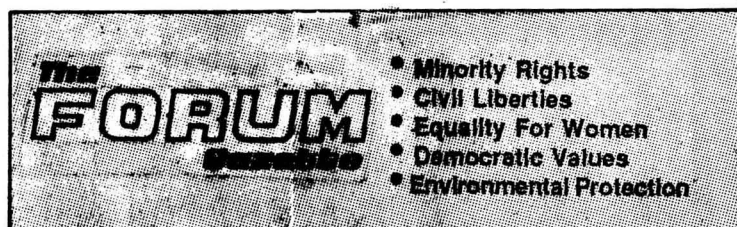
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NEWSHOUND



By Rap





The Role Of Akal Takht

It is difficult to defend the manner in which various jathedars of the Akal Takht are conducting themselves. Should this kind of a thing go on, it seems reasonable to believe that the outcome would be most negative.

In a sense the issue was highlighted in early 1987 when the Jathedar, Professor Darshan Singh, adopted a certain line of approach. There was disagreement between him and Surjit Singh Barnala. This disagreement led to Barnala's ex-communication and the establishment of what came to be called the United Akali Dal.

At that time Barnala adopted the position that in matters like this the Akal Takht should not get embroiled either in party politics or factional quarrels. Opinion was divided but because of the prestige of the Akal Takht Barnala was put on the defensive.

Three things happened subsequent to that and each one of them calls for comment. One of the fact that Professor Darshan Singh had to leave Amritsar under somewhat difficult circumstances and Jasbir Singh Rode took his place. Should a change of person have also meant a change of approach? Properly speaking, the answer should be in the negative. Yet, the fact remains that there was a change of approach. In the ultimate analysis, this undermines the prestige of the Akal Takht.

The circumstances in which Rode was removed, put behind the bars and the manner in which he tried to come back and the reinduction of Professor Darshan Singh as the Head Priest of the Akal Takht are details which do not have to be recounted. If there is one thing that stands out in respect of these details, it is this that no principles were followed and the sense of propriety was sacrificed at every step. Can this enhance the prestige of the Akal Takht? The question has to be asked and no one knows the answer.

The second thing that happened was that the United Akali Dal which was then established has itself undergone various transmutations. Once again those details do not have to be gone into. Surely what Professor Darshan Singh is saying now to Barnala is equally applicable to all those turns and twists that have been witnessed for about a year now. To ask Barnala to act according to a certain code of conduct and not make the same code applicable to others suggests that different criteria are being followed. In this situation, for her party to adopt the holier-than-thou attitude would not help. A number of commentators have noticed the inconsistency and referred to it. Once again, this puts the Akal Takht in an adverse light.

The third development is no less baffling. Early last year Barnala took the position that as far as he was concerned he was bound by the constitution of his party and so on and not by what he was told by the Jathedar of the Akal Takht to do. Be that as it may, he did not stick to this position. In order to take advantage of certain factional developments he went back to the Akal Takht and asked for pardon which he had defied not so long ago. In plain words, he is as inconsistent as those who are asking him to act in a certain way.

On top of everything, there is a court case before the Punjab and Haryana Highcourt in regard to the election to the Presidentship of the S.G.P.C. last year. What happened if Jathedar Rode's removal is held *ultra vires*? It would be one vast muddle once again.

It should not be necessary to say anything more to underline the point that what is happening at Amritsar will only sully the prestige of the Sikh community further. As it is, its prestige has taken a very serious knock. To knock it down further would be an act of unpardonable folly. But one can live with folly. How does one live with a situation when an old and venerable tradition is sought to be undermined in pursuit of short-range interests and sectional considerations? It is time that those who have anything to do with it re-examined their conduct so as not to destroy their own credibility as well as the prestige of the Akal Takht.

We judge ourselves by what we feel capable of doing while others judge us by what we have already done.

—Longfellow

Lessons For Maldives And India's Importance

By Dr Parmanand

With a population of less than two lakhs and a land area of only 115 square miles, Maldives is an archipelago of some 1195 tiny coral islands (of which only 202 are inhabited), located in the Central Indian Ocean. The smallest South Asian state and a member of the South Asian Association for Regional Co-operation (SAARC), Maldives was a protectorate of Britain from 1887 to 1965. The archipelago is generally in peace, not divided by ethnic, linguistic or religious conflicts—a phenomenon quite common in most of the South Asian states—and as such does not hit the headlines. But what happened on November 3 and subsequently saw the islands state hitting the headlines internationally for a relatively long time.

Though most of the media have described the phenomenon of November 3 as a coup attempt, President Mamoon Abdul Gayoom, 51, an Islamic scholar, who was reelected President of the republic in a national referendum of September 23, 1988 for a third 5-year term, described it as a foreign aggression. It is altogether a different matter that he has not named any foreign power for the act of November 3 so far. Gayoom, who had earlier cancelled his slated state visit to India on November 1 and who took oath as the President amidst tight security on November 11 at Male, said that the episode of November 3 had brought international terrorism to the Maldivian shores. Incidentally, it was the third attempt to dethrone Gayoom from power since he took over as the President of the Republic in 1978. However, the earlier attempts were neither of such serious nature nor so deep-rooted, even though the name of the former president, Ibrahim Nasir, now living in self-imposed exile in Singapore, is usually associated with those. This time, too, Ibrahim Nasir's name figured in connection with the coup attempt. Nasir did not only deny his involvement therein, but even threatened legal action against those mentioning his name.

When the Indian troops captured in what came to be called "Operation Cactus" the ship "The Progress Light" and interrogated two businessmen Abdullah Lutfee and Sagar Naseer, several important facts came to light. It was revealed that the leader of the militant Tamil Group PLOTE (People's Liberation Organization of the Tamil Eelam), Uma Maheswaran was behind the plot. The idea was said to find some safe haven for

the PLOTE by installing Abdullah Lutfee as the President of the Republic. Before that the involvement of the LTTE was also suspected and talked about. We have already seen how Ibrahim Naseer's name remained in the news for some time.

A spokesman of the PLOTE denied in Colombo on November 10 that its leader, Uma Maheswaran, was involved in the Maldives coup bid. The spokesman described the allegation by the leader of the abortive coup, Abdullah Lutfee, as a "figment of imagination".

Likewise on November 8, the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) denied involvement in the coup attempt. In a statement to the western news agencies in Col-



Abdul Gayoom

ombo, the LTTE said it "wishes to deny categorically that it was in any way involved in the attempted coup. We are disappointed to note that some sections of the international media have attempted to implicate our organization in the current crisis in the Maldives". It was, perhaps, these denials that led President Gayoom to order an enquiry about who were involved in the abortive coup.

Though some questions were raised in Parliament about India's role in Maldives, India was overwhelmingly praised by various states, including the superpowers. On his part, President Gayoom praised India again and again in his talks with presspersons from India as also during his swearing-in ceremony on November 11.

Congratulating the Prime Minister and the people of India for "the historic peace-keeping operation in Maldives" Commonwealth Secretary General Sridath Ramphal said: "The Commonwealth and the wider world is a better place today because you acted so promptly and effectively in the cause of world order, peace and stability in the Ocean". In a message to Mr Gandhi, he said: "many a small

country is today a safer place because of India's selfless action in turning back aggression in Maldives. The Commonwealth is proud of leadership given by you and all the world is in your debt", he added.

If India received encomiums from outside the region, inside the region also there were some words of praise for her. Nepal, a member of the SAARC and also the country which hosted the last SAARC summit, lauded India's prompt military assistance to quell the attempt of foreign mercenaries to overthrow the Maldives government and ensuring the safety of President Gayoom. The Nepalese foreign minister, Mr Shailendra Kumar Upadhyaya, said that Nepal condemned this act of the mercenaries in an attempt to destabilize the Maldivian government. This type of act to destabilize any government should be condemned in unequivocal terms by the international community and every support should be extended to the government in peril, Upadhyaya said.

As for president Gayoom, apart from praising India again and again, he also chose the opportunity to thank President Reagan and the government of the United States for their full support at this difficult time. He said he was also happy to note that the governments of Malaysia, Bangladesh, Sri Lanka, Pakistan and Bahrain, too, had offered their help.

The lesson that the abortive coup attempt drives home very prominently is that Maldives' defence system needs to be overhauled soon and the President has already indicated his intention to do so. It remains to be seen whether sufficient manpower can be made available for it in a state like Maldives. On the other hand, it has brought to surface once again the charges of corruption and nepotism against some of the ministers of the Gayoom cabinet. It is time the tendency is checked. On his part, Gayoom has postponed the formation of the cabinet, after being sworn in for the third term.

As for India, it has gained credibility in the region, which had been put to taste and subjected to criticism in Sri Lanka for quite a long time now. The efficient operation of the Indian troops has certainly enhanced India's prestige. It is heartening to note that Defence Minister K.C. Pant has stated that the operation in Maldives need not be viewed as a precedent.

Mini War In Punjab

By Lt. Col. Manohar Singh (Retd.)

Since the Operation Blue-star the daily reports of police actions and the terrorists' activities and the number of persons getting killed look like as if a mini war is going on in Punjab. In all these days about 50,000 persons of the Sikh community itself have been consumed. And there seems to be no end to this war. The area of battle is getting enlarged which is obvious from the strings of incidents occurred in satellite towns and even at remote areas.

In the light of this the Punjab government has decided to raise a specially trained force of 1000 policemen to counter the terrorists in the state. Keeping in mind the hidden hand of foreign powers behind the activities of the terrorists and unrealistic political policies of the government and the unmanageable long international border, life becomes unpredictable. Therefore, the immediate concern of the whole nation, espe-

cially of the government, be to ponder over its adverse effects on the economy of the country and the unity and integrity of the nation. Hence the question before us is for how long the people should accept to live under such conditions? The situation demands very serious thinking in finding a solution to end the mini war in the state and also extinguishing its fall outs in other parts of the country.

Understanding the problem is as important as to find a solution to it. Firstly, that the past experience shows that even the enlarged police force is not going to meet the requirement, rather it is bound to aggravate the situation. And, secondly, that steps will have to be taken without any prejudice to concede the genuine demands of the Sikhs, and also to win over their confidence which presently seems shattered. Even if their demands are met, they remain obsessed with the fear of reversal

in the government policy later on, thus no haste solution will hold ground. The whole thing remains in cauldron. Because the present situation is the result of that as the government in the past have treated the community indifferently. The community has not only been subjected to oppression but to illtreatment and injustice.

It is strange to note that at the national level no one is worried to bring about a change in the atmosphere. No occasion has been used by the national leaders to express their sympathies with those who have suffered during the Operation Bluestar and the November 1984 massacre and on many other cardinal problems that the Sikh community is facing. Then, how the government can claim that it is treating all sections of the population at par? It is high time the government came out with a just and long-lasting solution to the problem of the Sikhs.

Third Person Involved

Continued from page 1

is for your information and necessary perusal".

This letter makes two things clear. One, the event of Mrs Gandhi's assassination was filmed by Peter Ustinov and, second, there was a third person involved in the shoot out.

Prof. Madhu Dandwate, MP, to whom this letter was written raised the issue in the Lok Sabha but he was not allowed to read the letter by the Speaker. The letter was, however, forwarded to Home Ministry for necessary inquiries. Not only principles of justice but just commonsense demands that investigating agencies should have taken note of this and investigated the information. But it was not done. Why?

Mind, information has been provided by a former MP in writing and is about a publically telecasted film. Writer of the letter, producer of the film and, hopefully, the film are available. Yet none of them have been examined or produced before any court. Why?

On the other hand Kehar Singh has been pronounced guilty and sentenced to capital punishment merely on the basis of assumptions. Kehar Singh's presence at the time of the assassination has never been claimed by any agency. No eyewitness has deposed having heard Kehar Singh hatching a conspiracy. Yet he is to be hanged. Why? Only because somebody must be punished for the assassination.

Why government and investigating agencies are not keen to know about the presence of the third person, get him arrested and punished? Or that third person is known and is being protected for certain reasons? These questions must be answered or the government must pronounce the letter by Satyanarayan Sinha false and ask British television to explain the film it telecasted. Any one who murdered Mrs Gandhi must be punished and only those who murdered her be punished. Of course, those who killed others must also be punished.

Second Stage Of Terrorism

Continued from page 1

meetings. The two factions are still not united, though efforts are being made to elect one set of office bearers. The unity move has received a setback with the latest directive of Prof. Darshan Singh to Mr. Surjit Singh Barnala, leader of the Akali Dal(L), to appear before the Akal Takht on December 5 after resigning from the party and dissolving the party. Mr. Harkrishen Singh Surjeet, CPM leader, has already described the directive as "a move to sabotage the Akali Unity". Sources close to Mr. Barnala say that at best he can resign from the presidentship of the party as it is the function of the general house of the party to disband it. Only the other day Prof. Darshan Singh had said that he would not interfere in political affairs and confine himself to matters of religion only. The latest directive exposes the game of the priests to interfere in the political matters. Mr. Barnala will react only after receiving a formal communication from the Akal Takht jathedar. The hitch is the ex-communication of Mr. Barnala and the share in power of the Barnala group in the new set-up.

The chances of Akali unity seem to be dim but if they are able to unite they will be able to put up a united front against the militants and establish their credibility with Delhi which is delaying a dialogue with the Akalis to solve the Punjab problem on the ground that it did not know to which Akali faction to talk to. If they fail to unite, it will take them a long time in facing the militants boldly. Time is opportune now for unity as the militants are divided. The Panthic Committee,

has split with Mr. Kanwarjit Singh, new chief of the Khalistan Commando Force, forming a parallel panthic committee. Mr. Gurbachan Singh Manochal and Mr. Wassan Singh Zaffarwal have in turn expelled Mr. Kanwarjit Singh from their Panthic Committee and also sacked Mr. Rode.

There is a grain of truth in the allegation of the Manochal panthic committee that Mr. Kanwarjit Singh formed a parallel panthic committee at the bidding of the DGP and Mr. Rode. It is said that all the five members of the new committee are proclaimed offenders and one fails to understand how the new committee leaders were able to take pressmen from Chandigarh to Hoshiarpur and alter to Ropar to brief them and the police did not have an inkling of it. Like Mr. Gurjit Singh of the All India Sikh Students Federation, now in hiding, they come to Chandigarh at will to brief newsmen and go back undetected. If that be the state of intelligence, then it will take a long time to tackle terrorism in the State.

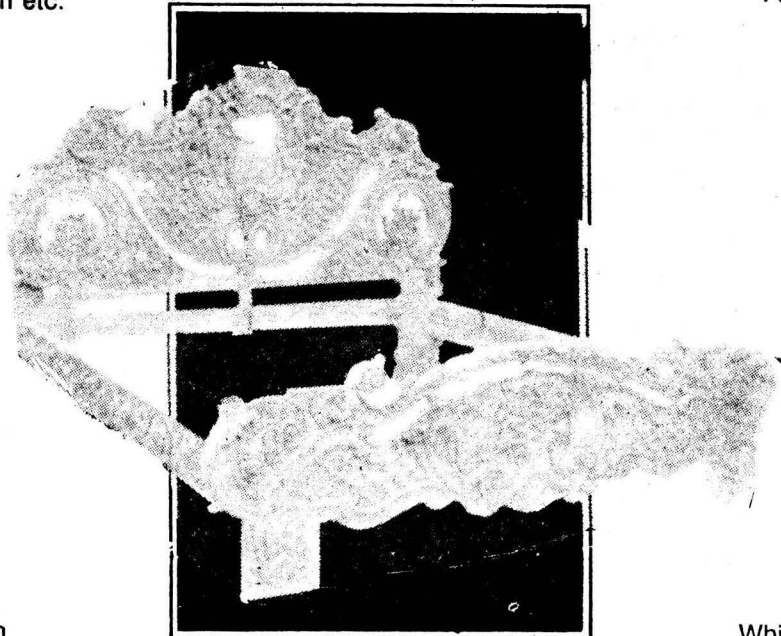
Lack of effective intelligence is also evident from the recent spurt in killings. There seems to be a causal relationship between the government's claims in improvement in the law and order situation and the terrorists' brutal killings. The fourth spell of President's rule in the State began on a gruesome note when in a single day 25 persons were killed and 40 injured in a series of bomb blasts in Batala. The total number of killings that day in Punjab was about 50. The number of killings by terrorists in

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Azad: Writer, Orator, Nation-builder

By R.P. Rahi

A powerful orator who could thrill and sway his audiences with his stirring speeches. An erudite intellectual with a never ending passion for learning. A relentless soldier in India's struggle for freedom. A journalist, radical in his writings. A visionary educationist and a champion of secular values-Maulana Abul-Kalam Azad was all these and more.

Maulana Azad's was a life of dedication during which he sacrificed all that he could in the struggle for India's freedom. He had very little of the worldly possessions - wealth, prosperity, other homely or social comforts. He shunned family attachments, social affiliations that bring fame, and even honorary degrees from universities.

Early Life And Education

Azad was born at the holy Mecca, on the 11th of November, 1888 as the second son of Maulana Khairuddin, a great spiritual leader and religious dignitary. Born with a silver spoon in his mouth he enjoyed a homely atmosphere where nothing was lacking in the sense of bliss and beauties. Commonly known as Muhiyuddin parents named him Firoz Bakht (of exalted destiny) out of parental affection. While he was still a toddler, his parents returned to India and settled in Calcutta where his father became famous as a spiritual guide (Pir-o-Murshid). The education Azad received mostly from his father was traditional. He did not go to any madrasah, nor did he attend any modern institution of western education. Learning at home, he completed the traditional course of higher Islamic education at sixteen instead of the normal twenty or twenty five. About the same time he was exposed to the writings of Sir Sayyid Ahmed Khan whose ideas impressed him to the extent that he considered his education incomplete without the knowledge of western education.

Keeping it a secret from his father Azad started learning English and by his own effort acquired enough knowledge of the language to study advanced books on history and philosophy. In addition to his complete mastery over Arabic, Persian and Urdu, he was quite conversant in English and French whose classics he would often study. It is said he had also been to Al-Azhar University of Cairo to do higher learning in Arabic. He had the gift of a powerful memory. Whatever he would



Mulana Azad With Jawaharlal Nehru

read once, it would be etched in his memory forever. He remembered thousands of couplets of Persian and Arabic poetry which he would very appropriately quote in his speeches and writings.

An Orator And Writer

Possessing a peculiar style of expression in speech and the written word, Azad used to enthrall his audiences with captivating the stirring speeches even at the age of fifteen. His speeches and writings would create an aura of rare eloquence with the point usage of similitic, metaphar, combined with brisk epithets and a combination of too simple or too pedantic words.

Suggestive symbolisms based on original thinking would dominate his expressions, whatever the subjects may be, philosophical discussion, exchange of political ideas or criticism of classical literature. Amongst his writings, the various writeups contributed to the periodicals like the *Alnadwah*, *Al-Hilal* and *Al-blag*, if brought together would amount to a big volume of superb prose. His bigger endeavours like *Tarjman-ul-Quram*, *Tazkara*, *Ghubas-e-Khatir* and *India Wins Freedom* are highly erudite contributions, like landmarks in religious and political literature.

Turning Points

He was trained and brought up in a strict religious family where any deviation from orthodox ways of life was unimaginable and all the conventions of traditional life were to be accepted without any question. The extracurricular readings which Abulkalam had resorted to, led to a mental crisis in him. He pondered over religious tenets and gradually, in the matter

of religion, Azad, a product of tradition, reached the point where he wanted to combine reason and revelation. This led him although unnoticed to the stage of atheism and sinfulness.

Azad remained in this stage of spiritual dilemma till the age of 22. However, after wandering for about nine years (1901-1910) he joined his destination. But as he could not describe fully the power which has pushed him into darkness, he also could not tell about the hand which pulled him into light.

About the same time, Azad's political ideas were also in turmoil. He wanted to see his country free from British rule. But his "quick-silver-heart" could not approve of Congress movement on account of its slowness; also he could not join Muslim League whose political goal he found unpredictable. Then he associated himself with the Hindu revolutionaries of Bengal in spite of their exclusive and indifferent attitude towards the Muslims. He managed, however, in convincing them that the systematic exclusion of Muslims from the group would ultimately make political struggle much more difficult.

In 1908, Azad travelled abroad and visited Iraq, Egypt, Syria and Turkey. He could not tour Europe and had to return from France on account of his father's illness.

A Scholar Journalist

Still in his teens, Muhiyuddin, using the pseudonym Abul Kalam Azad, acquired a high reputation among the Muslim intelligentsia through his writings mostly on subjects of religion and literature in the standard Urdu journals of the time.

For politicising his community,

Azad started from July 13, 1912, an Urdu weekly, *Al-Hilal* from Calcutta. It was a brilliant paper, written in a new moving style, amazingly forcefully. It was illustrated and was printed. Its influence was prodigious, especially among the great. Azad was politically and religiously radical. The paper shocked the conservatives and created a furore; but there were many Muslims ready to follow him. The paper was banned in 1914. From November 12, 1915, Azad started a new weekly, *Al-Balagh* from Calcutta which continued till March 31, 1916. It was also banned by the Government of Bengal and Azad was exiled from Calcutta under the Defence of India Regulations. Governments of Punjab, Delhi, UP and Bombay had already prohibited his entry. He could stay in Bihar and he went to Ranchi, a hill station where he was interned till January 1, 1920.

In The Congress Fold

After his release in 1920, he met Mahatma Gandhi for the first time in Delhi. He joined the Congress taking part in Gandhi's non-cooperation movement. From 1920 till 1945 Azad was in and out of prison, a number of times. After he was released from Ranchi he was elected president of All India Khilafat Committee (1920) and President of Unity Conference (Delhi) in 1924. In 1928 he presided over the Nationalist Muslim Conference. He was appointed in 1937 a member of the Congress Parliamentary Sub-committee to guide the Provincial Congress. He was twice elected President of the Indian National Congress, first in 1923 when he was only 35 years old and the second time in 1940. He continued as such till 1946 for no election was held during this period as almost every Congress leader was in prison on account of Quit India Movement of 1942. After the leaders were released Abul-Kalam Azad, as the President of Congress led the negotiations with the British Cabinet Mission in 1946. When India became free, he was taken in the Cabinet and was Education Minister till his death on February 22, 1958.

Although education was on the State List, Azad insisted that Centre must share the responsibility with State Governments in its promotion. He appointed the University Education Commission (1948) and the Secondary Education Commission (1952). He was also instrumental in the establishment of the University Grants Commission. The various academies like the Lalit Kala Academy,

Sahitya Academy and Sangeet and Natak Academy as well as Indian Council of cultural Affairs were also the inherent results of Maulana's secular thinking and cultural leanings. In this way he raised the annual budget for education from Rs. 20,000,000/- in 1947 to Rs.300,000,000 in 1958.

Champion Of Secular Values

From his political debut in the national struggle he rose to be an uncompromising believer in the composite Indian Nationalism. In fact, he was among those few who were not shaken in their faith in composite nationalism even by the partition of the country. An ardent orator and a matchless writer, he was yet too aloof to concern himself with persons, too intellectualised for selfish political small talk, too proud to think in terms of alliances, affiliations or opposition. He was a statesman who would not accept the normal functions of a politician. He had to be taken for what he was with no credentials other than his personality of a true patriot and of a high ranking intellectual and of a votary of India's composite nationalism and culture.



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Sufism And Communal Harmony

Continued from last issue

III

It is difficult to surmise on the beginning of the mystic trend in Islam. The Sufis trace it from the Prophet himself and find its justification in the Quranic verses. There are number of verses in the Quran called mutashabihat (those unsure of meaning) which can be interpreted in various ways and some Quranic verses are highly symbolic. Some of the verses which the mystics interpret in their own way are as under:-

"Allah is the light of the heavens and the earth. A likeness of His light is as a niche in which is a lamp - the lamp is in a glass, the glasses it were a brightly shining star - lit from a blessed olive tree, neither eastern nor western, the oil where of gives light though fire touch it not-light upon light. Allah guides to his light whom He pleases. And Allah sets forth parables for men, and Allah is knower of all things" (The Quran, 24:35). "By the star when it sets. Your companion errs not, nor does he deviate. Nor does he speak out of desire. It is naught but revelation that is revealed. One mighty in power has taught him. The Lord of strength. So he attained to perfection, and he is in the highest part of the horizon. Then he drew near drew nearer yet so he was the measure of two bows or closer still. (The Quran, 53:1-9).

These are of course only two of many verses which lend themselves to mystical interpretations and from which the Muslim mystics derive their beliefs and practices. The holy Prophet is looked upon by them as a perfect model who spent long hours in night prayers and fasting for days. He is also reported to be tying stones on his stomach to control hunger while praying. Ali, the son-in-law of the Prophet is another model after the Prophet for deriving inspiration from. Ali is also reported to be deeply spiritual person with great control on his desires and was given to a constant praying and devotion to Allah.

We do not wish to discuss the Sufi doctrines here which is altogether a different subject. We are only trying to throw some light on the background of the theory and practice of Sufism. Undoubtedly, some companions of the holy Prophet and other Muslims in early period like Imam Hasan Basri (who is also considered a great Sufi saint) had Sufistic qualities about them. Sufism, in fact, systematically began during the late Abbasid period. It is well known that the early Abbasid Caliphs like Ma'Mun and his immediate successors supported the Mu' tazalite rationalism. They were also sup-

porters of liberal theology and expression of free thought. But with the Caliph Mutawakkil, a reaction set in. The Mu' tazalites lost their influence and the persecution of the unorthodox began. Even persons like Al-Muhasibi (an early Sufi) who had opposed Mu'tazalism and refuted their doctrines were no longer free to teach or preach in Baghdad.

It is this period which was emotionally and psychologically suitable for germination of Sufi doctrines. It was an extremely difficult period both spiritually and materially. The Abbasid power had declined and a sense of insecurity had set in. On the other hand, speculative theology under the influence of Greek thought and philosophy had a field day. Religion had become purely intellectual and speculative affair and starved of spiritualism and emotions. Moreover, as pointed out above, the days of liberalism were over and religious persecution got ascendancy due to decline of the Abbasid power. There was yet another dimension to the Abbasid society. It had attracted people from various parts of the world specially from Persia, India, Central Asia, Syria and other parts of Roman empire. There were people of various faiths, Muslims, Zoroastrians, Christians, Jews and even Jains and Hindus though the latter two were very few. Thus the Abbasid society had grown to be a multi-religious society.

The Sufism and its origin must be seen in this background. The society had developed sense of insecurity, was starved of emotional aspects of religion, had gathered people of different faiths and the Abbasid power was on decline. The theological elites were indulging too much in speculative theology and reasoning. The masses had no appeal for such religion. They needed a religion which could serve as a solace and also give them a sense of security and provide an emotional outlet. The Sufis did precisely that. They distanced the religion from sterile speculative theologising and endowed it with spiritualism and emotionalism. They as if personalised religion and used it to give stability and sense of security to common people. To use Indian terminology Bhakti Marg got ascendence over Jnan Marg. Jnan Marg can be followed only by the elite whereas Bhakti Marg is open to all and is far more reassuring to them than the Jnan Marg. However, it must be said that as far as the Sufis were concerned they combined both the margs m'arif (Jnan) and 'ibadat (bhakti).

Many attempts have been made to define Sufism. Here we give its

definition by a greatly acclaimed sufi, Junaid Baghdadi, who was a disciple of al-Muhasibi earlier referred to. "Sufism" said Al-Junaid, "means that God makes thee to die to thyself and to become alive in Him. It is to purify the heart from the recurrence of creaturely temptations, to bid farewell to all natural inclinations, to subdue the qualities which belong to human nature to keep far from the claims of the senses, to adhere to spiritual qualities, to ascend by means of Divine Knowledge, to be occupied with that which is eternally the best, to give wise counsel to all people, faithfully to observe the Truth, and to follow the Prophet in respect of the religious law". (See attar Tadhkitat Al-Awliya, ed. R.A. Nicholson, London 1905, II. p.32). This is quite a comprehensive definition of Sufism and lays bare almost all its dimensions.

Here it would be seen from its above definition that a Sufi is supposed to give up all worldly temptations, bid farewell to all natural urges and subdue them. In this

By
Asghar Ali Engineer

respect they were closer to Indian yogis. This control of sensual lust made them popular among the masses. The masses lived under tyrannical and exploitative rule of kings and feudal lords and anyone who resisted the temptation to be drawn near to these rulers made him quite popular among them. Most of the Sufis resorted to this passive resistance against the exploitative rule of their time though there also was an activist Sufi like Enayatullah Shah of Sind in 17th century who actively fought with arms against the exploitative Mughal rule though in the end he was defeated. But he fought with such dauntless courage that his enemies had to resort to guile to defeat him.

However, most of the Sufis resorted to passive resistance and many of them like Hazrat Nizamuddin Awliya doggedly refused to pay court to even most powerful kings of his time. These Sufis opted out of the system and thought it fit to lead emotionally and spiritually rich life. Even if they does not serve its needs. Its psychology and state of mind gets reflected, on the other hand, in elaborate ritualism, music and dance. When large sections of peasantry got converted to Islam outside urban Arabia, they brought their own psychology and mental equipment with them.

The 'ulama belonged to the urban elite and hence were attracted to speculative theology

and this left the rural peasantry cold. They needed more ritualistic and emotionally satisfying religion. Many Sufi dervishes (mendicants) even adopted music (sama) and dance (raqs) alongwith other elaborate rituals. Sama' and raqs were strongly denounced by the 'ulama who considered these practices as bida' (un-Islamic innovations) which they undoubtedly were. However, for the peasantry, and those sections of it which migrated to urban areas the real question was not dogmatic theology but their own emotional needs. They found their fulfillment in Sufi practices.

Moreover, the Sufis, as pointed out earlier, never hesitated to assimilate the spiritual insights from other faiths. They were more akin to the Quranic verse "And for every people we appointed way of worshipping that they might mention the name of Allah on what He has given them of the cattle quadrupeds. So your God is one God, therefore to Him should you submit, and give good news to the humble." (The Quran, 22:34). And also "for every one there is direction to which one turns, so why with each other in good deeds". (The Quran 2:148).

Thus these verses make it abundantly clear that the form of worship is not very material, each people have their own form. What is necessary is to excel each other in good works and also to give good tiding to the humble (mukhlitin). The Sufis were truthful to both these teachings of the Quran: they never disputed anyone's form of worship and they always had deep sympathy for the humble. When Hazrat Nizamuddin Awliya went on a morning walk in Delhi wanted to they could not have changed the system even with the help of armed struggle as technology and forces of production made such change impossible. The Sufis could at best establish communes outside the system which they did by establishing shrines where people of all faiths and classes ate langar without any distinction. Some Sufis accepted jagirs for their langar expenses while others refused even this and depended mainly on unsolicited futeh (contributions). They made it a point never to ask for any contribution and yet people flocked to donate generously and the langars ran smoothly.

The Sufis, it is important to note from our viewpoint, never hesitated to adopt and assimilate spiritual practices from sources other than Islam. They had, in this respect, very liberal, even universalist approach. It is quite possible that the famous Sufi doctrine of fana fi'llah (i.e. dying in oneself and living in Him as Hazrat Junaid Baghdadi says in his definition of

a Sufi) might have been borrowed from Hinduism as such a concept is found in Hinduism much before.

The Sufis laid stress on spiritualism rather than on theologising and dogmatism. They were hardly interested in either rational or dogmatic theology like the 'ulama and mullas. The masses were never attracted towards the 'ulama and mullas as unlike the Sufis they were attracted by theology (an elite speculative rational activity) as opposed to spiritual practices (theologising leads to dogmas as opposed to spiritual practices which lead to sense of security and emotional satisfaction) they also coveted durbar positions and thus appeared to be on the side of exploiters whereas the Sufis kept their distance from the rulers, as pointed out above.

One also has to keep in mind, that Islam, to begin with, was a religion of city dwellers, mostly small traders and artisans, not of peasants. To traders and city dwellers what appeals most is pragmatic rationalism. However, the peasant psychology is quite different. Pragmatic rationalism along the river Jamuna he saw some Hindu women bathing and worshipping the morning sun. He, upon seeing these women in the act of worship, told his poet disciple 'har qaum ra dine wa qiblagah' (for every people there is religion and direction to which they turn to worship). These words were literal translation of the Quranic verses quoted above and deeply reflected Hazrat Nizamuddin's approach towards other religions.

IV

Lastly, we would like to draw the attention to the famous doctrine of Muhiuddin Ibn Arabi known as wahdat al-wujud (unity of being). It was quite a revolutionary doctrine as far as harmony between peoples of different faiths is concerned. This doctrine implies that it is His existence which pervades through the whole universe.

The universe is a manifestation of His glory and hence there should not be any distinction between one object and the other, let alone between one faith and the other. This doctrine, in a way was quite progressive in its time. Again, it was this doctrine which drew the Sufi saints close to the people of all faiths. A true muwahhid (believer in the unity of being) was one who made no distinction between one creature and another creature of God. The noted Urdu poet Ghalib who was a believer of the doctrine of wahdat al-wujud goes further and says:

"We are believers in the doctrine

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Number Game-1988

From K.S. Khosla

The general impression given by the two press conferences held by the Governor, S.S. Ray (October 21) and the Director-General of Police, K.P.S. Gill (October 31) is that the government still regards the Punjab terrorism as a law and order problem and will not initiate any political process till terrorism was crushed in the State.

Both the Governor and the DG claimed that of late there had been an improvement in the law and order situation and the number of killings had gone down during the last few months. The Governor had even hinted that no Akali leader would be released unless terrorism was curbed substantially. Ray also indirectly blamed the Akali leaders for the spurt in terrorist killings this year. The number of killings had come down to 45 in December 1987 which was followed by the release of Prakash Singh Badal and other Akali leaders in the hope that they would mend the situation. On the other hand, their actions and speeches led to a spurt in killings which rose to 333 in May 1988. The State assembly was dissolved in May 1988 to dispel the impression being spread by the Akalis that they were coming to power. After that there had been steady decline in the number of killings—in June the number was 145 followed by 95 in August, 94 in September and 54 upto October 20. The Governor said that the determination was to bring the number of killings to 50 in December 1988.

Now what did the Governor mean by saying that they wanted to bring the number of killings by terrorists to 50? Did he mean that the situation would look normal or under control if 50 innocent lives were lost a month or that political initiative would be taken only when the number comes down to 50—five more than in December 1987 when Akali leaders were released? But if 50 or 45 killings is the criterion for releasing Akali leaders, then these leaders could have been released in February 1987 when the number of killings was 41 repeat 41. It rose to 136 in July 1987 and again came down to 45 in December 1987 to rise again to 265 in March 1988 and 333 in May that year.

DG also claimed improvement in the situation and fall in the number of killings in recent months. But is it fair to assess the situation on the basis of a few months' figures or figures from selected months? The question is what is the overall situation. The DG himself gave the game away when he disclosed that the number of killings by terrorists was 910 in 1987 and 1693 in 1988 (first 10 months)—an increase of about

80 per cent. There was, however, a decline in conventional murders, from 1154 in 1987 to 619 in the first 10 months of 1988. The DG further disclosed that the total number of terrorists arrested during 1986, 1987 and 1988 was 8434, of which 2257 were lodged in jails. The rest were either released or on bail.

This correspondent definitely remembers that when J.F. Rebeiro, Advisor to the Governor, held his first press conference after taking over as Director General of Police, disclosed that the number of terrorists was not more than 500 and claimed that he would wipe out terrorism in six months. The police, or for that matter the administration, has become more realistic now and removed all distinction between A, B and C class terrorists and their number has gone up to 8,434. Even the Prime Minister is said to have expressed concern over the increase in the number of terrorists at a meeting of Editors of Punjab newspapers called by him a few months ago. Where do the new recruits to terrorism come from?

Are the ranks of the terrorists, organisations swelling as a result of the strong-arm methods of the police. The former Inspector General of Police (Border), Chaman Lal, sent shock waves up to Delhi when only a few weeks ago he told a press conference in Amritsar that he "is not willing to follow the repressive policy of the Director General of Police." Even though the authorities have not formally denied the charge of Chaman Lal, they say that it will not deter them from following the policy of curbing terrorism firmly. But the issues raised by Chaman Lal are not "dead" as claimed by some of the officials. An indication of this was available when the Governor told newsmen that orders had been issued to the police not to take everything for granted. The terrorist crimes should be fully investigated to see who committed the crime and his motives behind the crime. Normal crime should be separated from terrorist crime. The police must go deeper into facts to find out whether a murder was committed for ideological reasons or for money and sex or as a result of inter-gang rivalry. The message sent to the police is clear—not to dub each murder as terrorist killing. This new realism on the part of the higher authorities in a happy sign as separating the normal crime from terrorist crime will go a long way in removing, even though partly, alienation among the people due to the high-handed methods of the police who are prone to break rules and laws in the name of national security.

This segregation of normal crime from terrorist crime should

go hand in hand with a deliberate attempt on the part of the administration not to give any impression, even remotely that it has a soft corner for any terrorist outfit. One need not go into details here of the covert help given by the administration to Jasbir Singh Rode, former Akal Takht Jathedar and a nephew of Sant Jarnail Singh Bindranwale, during the Operation Black Thunder. One recent example will suffice. The government permitted Rode and his armed men to enter the Golden Temple despite the opposition of the man on the spot, Chaman Lal, who believed that his entry into the shrine under the circumstances would nullify the gains of the Operation Black Thunder.

Gill sprang another surprise when he said in reply to another question that Rode was not wanted by the police in any case. He had no information about the case of sedition registered against Rode in 1984. He clarified that Rode and his men had not raised any anti-national slogans when they entered the Golden Temple.

Sufism And Communal Harmony

Continued from page 6

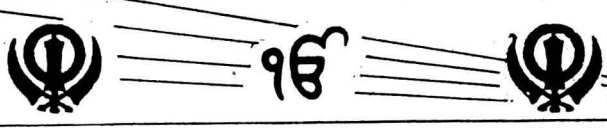
of Unity of Being (muwahhid) and our creed is to renounce all formalities (of faith); the (different) communities, when obliterated, became ingredients of (my) faith".

Thus the doctrine of wahdat al-wujud was instrumental in promoting communal harmony by eliminating all formal differences of faith. Naturally it did not go unchallenged by the theologians who strongly believed in formalism. They vehemently opposed the Sufis who believed in wahdat al-wujud. Abul Fazl and Faizi who deeply influenced Akbar's religious outlook and made him tolerant towards other faiths were also opposed by the prominent contemporary theologians. Mujaddid Alf Thani Sirhindi was one among them. He refuted the doctrine of wahdat al-wujud and instead propounded that of wahdat al-shuhud (unity of witnessing). What was implied was that though we witness such unity but in act it does

not exist. Existence is not emanation from God. God is beyond and transcendent. However, it must be said that the doctrine of wahdat al-wujud remained most popular and that of wahdat al-shuhud could never compete successfully with it. Shah Waliyulla tried to work out a synthesis of the two but even this synthesis did not find many takers. It remained confined to Shah Saheb's followers.

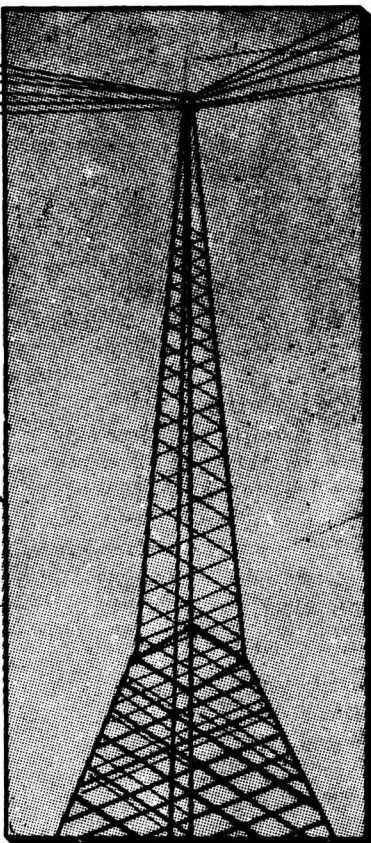
Of course we must understand the fact that Sufism was a product of a feudal society. It was, so to say, feudal humanism. The contemporary social structure is not congenial to the Sufi practices and hence it has nearly disappeared from our socio-religious scene. But it is part of our socio-cultural and religious heritage and must be valued as such. The Sufistic values, though not its practice, are still quite relevant for us as we are torn with communal conflict today.

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Guru Nanak

The Torch-bearer Of Humanity

By Parminder Singh

Guru Nanak, the apostle of truth and universal brotherhood, was born in a Kshtriya family in 1469. The Indian society at that critical time of the Indian history was in a ferment and had touched the lowest depths of decadence and urgently needed a Messiah or saviour who could extricate it out of the morass of inactivity and degradation. Guru Nanak appeared on the scene. He came, he saw and conquered the hearts of one and all by his skillful darts, amiable disposition, affable manners and harmless but effective palliatives flung in the form of sardonic pellets at society and its whims and caprices and its inequalities and injustices what Rousseau later propounded as liberty, fraternity and equality was first practised by Guru Nanak in its pure, simple form. Guru Nanak was not only the founder of a new religion, Sikhism, but was also a social reformer who exposed cant and hypocrisy, emphasised the oneness of God and led a tireless and relentless crusade against those who acted as the leeches of society and preyed upon the weak, the innocent, the sick, the aged and the poor. He led an extremely simple, austere, rural and rustic life which abhorred luxuries of life ala Mahatma Budha simultaneously decrying those who renounced the world for the forest to lead the life of a recluse. While advocating simple living, he enjoined upon his followers to lead a fuller, richer life of a Grahasti the house holder and obtain *Moksha* or *Nirvan* in such living instead of making a dash for the inaccessible and frightening jungles which absolved the sanayasin of his multifarious obligation to society. To lead an honest living to remember Him and to partake of one's earnings with others were the cardinal principles of man's existence, according to him. Baba Naudh Singh, the famous allegorical hero of the novel of the same name by Bhai Veer Singh, the famous sick Sufi poet, was the living embodiment and personification of Guru Nanak's cherished ideals enumerated earlier. But to follow the path trod by Guru Nanak is not an easy thing, for the modern day philanderer or the libertine who buried deep in the pleasures of flesh knows little about the advantages of simple living and high thinking.

That is not all Guru Nanak was a poet par excellence. Practising many rhythmic schemes, metres and rhymes, he produced metaphysical poetry of the first order not easily intelligible by the common man. Yet literally and figuratively he was no man of let-

ters holding no honorary doctorate of laws like the many modern day dilettantes and political folks who masquerade as learned geni but in point of fact know next to nothing.

The greatest quality of Guru Nanak's character was his penchant for curing the incurables who may be religious bigots or power drunk monarchs or pseudo-social reformers. Some of his endeavours at social reforms are discussed here under:

Wali Qandhari, the self-styled messiah of the Muslims after leading a life of penance and self-abnegation had started thinking himself to be a demi-God, refused to give drinking water to Guru Nanak's disciple, Mardana, hurtled in a fit of uncontrollable rage of huge boulder to exterminate Mardana and his mentor but he found his match in Guru Nanak who not only checkmated the advancing boulder but also struck water at a nearby place which is to this day a place of pilgrimage for lakhs of people—Punja Sahib in Pakistan.

When Confronted with the problem of slave traffic, Guru Nanak allowed himself to be auctioned for expaltry price of two horses, went to his master and converted him to his views. This led to the abolition of slave traffic.

He saw professional pandits fleecing innocent people by their gift of the gab. Once in Puri, he confronted a *sadhu* promising a glimpse of the three worlds when Guru Nanak had his alms box hidden behind him, the *sadhu* on opening his eyes flew off his rocker when he found it missing. Guru Nanak told the audience that a man who did not know what lay at his back could not be expected to tell about the worlds unknown. Flabbergasted the *sadhu* had to beat a hasty retreat.

Similarly at Hardwar where people were throwing water at the sun to appease their dead forefathers, Guru Nanak did what was diametrically opposite by sprinkling water in the opposite direction. When asked to explain his bizzare action, he told them that he was watering his fields in the Punjab at which all had a hearty laugh. But Guru Nanak had the last laugh by reminding them that if he could not water his fields on earth, how could they send water several aeons away.

As a wandering bard and minstrel, Guru Nanak did a yeoman's service to mankind. He reformed pandas of Banaras by telling them that no one was great or small by birth. It is our actions which determine our place in society. The practice of *Sati* was condemned by him. He wandered through the

length and breadth of the country and even went abroad. Two of his exploits in India and one is Mecca deserve special mention. In India king Caroun had held the people white by his extortionate taxes. Almost every gold and silver coin had been snatched from the populace. Guru Nanak wanted him to see and realise the transience of this life and tell him that the pursuits of the piceurean were also shortlived one day while visiting his palace he offered him a needle with the remark that the king should take it along with his other treasures to heaven after his death, the king forthwith saw the futility of senseless amassing of riches and denuding the poor. He became another Budha.

On reaching Mecca, Guru Nanak saw that the illiterate Muslims thought that God existed only in the west. He lay down with his legs pointing towards the mosque where upon the fanatic muezzin hauled him up and dragged him by his legs calling him a henetic (*kafir*) but Guru Nanak asked him to point his legs to the direction where God did not exist. Thereupon the Mullah realised his mistake and asked for the Guru's forgiveness.

The first few lines of Guru Nanak's Japji declare that God is one. He is truth as truth alone is synonymous with God. Again God is the Supreme Being, the Creator, the preserver and the destroyer all rolled into one. He is fearless without rancour or forms. In fact the Supreme Being is formless though all pervading we can realise and find him through the medium of receptivity a Guru.

The greatest gift of Guru Nanak to mankind was his postulate that God is one and all religions are similar in essence and appeal. All men are born equal. A Brahmin's son does not automatically become a Brahmin. It is man's actions which decide his character and place in society. It is because of his lack of faith in the theory that Hindu society is divided into four watertight compartments that all the Gurdwaras built by the Sikhs have four entrances on four sides thereby indicating that the Brahmins, the Kshatriyas, the Vaisyas and the Shudras all alike can enter the sanctum sanctorum of the Gurdwaras.

Finally, he was the greatest socialist of his times as is evidenced by the institution of community kitchens started by him for the benefit of one and all, the saint and the sinner, the rich and the poor, etc.

Guru Nanak's message of oneness of God and mutual fraternity shall remain immortal for all time to come.

The Visions Of

By Amrik

Of the various seers and prophets, Guru Nanak, as noted by Dr S. Radhakrishnan, regarded himself as uniquely human. We know much more about his life and mission than about most of them. After all he lived only five centuries ago. Many of his activities are fairly well chronicled though, to be sure, with the passage of time some of them have got overlaid with myths and legends. But the man and his vision shine through with a degree of clarity and warmth that is difficult to match.

More than anything else, what stands out in his life and teachings is his deep and abiding humanism. He was totally opposed to any kind of formalism or ritualism. If he denounced anything strongly and vehemently, it was greed, oppression, inequality and injustice. His opposition to the caste system is well-known. Similarly his passionate plea for equality to women. In one of his oft-quoted verses, he is categorical on this theme. He says:

Of a woman we are conceived,
Of a woman we are born,
To a woman we are betrothed and married,
It is a woman who is a friend and partner of life.
It is a woman who keeps the race going,
Why should we consider woman cursed and condemned,
When from her womb are born leaders and rulers?

His humanism was born of the same impulses and cast of thinking that had inspired the Bhakti movement in the rest of the country. Mahaprabhu Chaitanya was his contemporary (a legend has it that the two met each other) and so was Vallabhacharya. Even poets like Mirabai and Tulsi lived around that time. It was a period of emotional and spiritual turmoil for the whole country and Guru Nanak was very much a part of it. In a sense, Punjab at that time was the last cultural outpost of India; beyond that was the realm of Islam. It was in the fitness of things that a man like Guru Nanak was born in Punjab at that time.

But there is a difference which requires to be noted. Unlike most of his contemporaries, Kabir for instance, what they stood for never got institutionalised. In his case, not only was Guru Nanak succeeded by nine other gurus, several of them enlarged and enriched the body of his thought and the way of life that he practised. Guru Angad whom he selected in preference to his son preserved his poetry and the third guru popularised the concept of *sangat* (congregation), a concept which had not been unknown in Buddhism and which is one of the cardinal features of Islam; he also



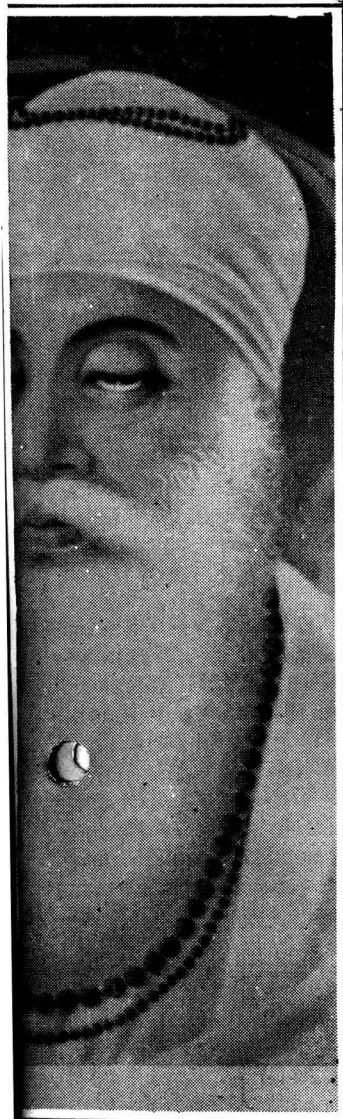
started the practice of *pangat* (sitting in a row) when food is served. The fourth guru gave this new movement a local habitation and a name and the fifth guru consolidated the writings of his predecessors.

It should not be necessary to go into further details except to make the point that, unlike most other faiths, Sikhism kept on evolving for a period of something like two centuries. That is how, in course of time, Sikhism came to have a self-contained body of metaphysics, theology and a whole host of social and religious practices which are a precondition for an autonomous faith to emerge and consolidate itself.

What makes Sikhism distinctive, is the pronounced accent on humanism, referred to above. Guru Nanak was not only a poet and a dreamer. That he was and in this respect he ranks with some of the most outstanding poets and mystics of the world. He was also a man of action. What is called action may, however, have taken place much later through the activities of his various successors but the seeds of what they did are to be found in his own outlook. He believed for example that, "He alone should sit on the throne who is fit to rule". He said this in the context of the misrule of the Lodis and the ravages wrought by Babar in Northern India. Though well

Guru Nanak

Singh



own, his description of the contemporary situation deserves to be reproduced here:

The age is like a drawn knife, The kings are virtual butchers Righteousness has taken wing In the dark night of falsehood, I see nowhere the moon of Truth, In bewilderment I grope for Truth. Evidently, he did not mince his words when the occasion called for it. This is in total contrast to the way in which some of the other medieval saints responded to what was happening around them and them. It is known for instance that Kabir was ill-treated by the Muslims but the matter is not commented upon in any of his verses, nor is any kind of a call to action given. Similarly it is on record that Miramdev was imprisoned by the Sultan of Delhi and subjected to torture. Guru Nanak fortunately did not have any such savoury experience. The point to note is that he was different in his reactions which stemmed basically from his outlook and philosophical belief.

He did not believe in *maya* or *maya*, nor did he believe in renunciation or self-abnegation. He was very much of a householder and his notion of salvation was, in that sense, different from what is usually described as the traditional view. In his dialogue with the Muslims he put his point of view

clearly, "A lotus grows and blossoms in water and yet its petals do not get wet ... Desires and hopes in life may be there but, while cherishing them all, a man's real self should not lose itself in them—it should remain unaffected by success or failure". By practising such a way of life he can surely feel the presence of the invisible Omnipresent; the universal spirit manifests itself to him and he can attune his individual soul to the universal soul".

It is because of this accent on grappling with reality as it exists that his followers got drawn into situations which others would choose to ignore. The roots of what G.C. Narang has described as the transformation of Sikhism are to be found in the activist outlook of Guru Nanak. He was not an ascetic, nor did he believe in turning his back upon the world. On the contrary, he believed in living a full life. Coupled with his humanism this could not but lead to what happened to the Sikh movement within a hundred years of Guru Nanak.

The martyrdom of the fifth and the ninth gurus which gave a militant turn to Sikhism thus derives from the unique vision that Guru Nanak had. He was a seeker of truth but truth which was not divorced from reality. In this sense, his approach was different from the hoary tradition to which he has an heir in a substantial measure.

It is customary to refer to Guru Nanak as a mediator between Hinduism and Islam. Like several statements of this kind is true but only upto a point. It was the poet Iqbal who described Japji as the essence of the Koran and there is no dearth of people who trace Guru Nanak's ideas to the Vedas and the Upanishads. Both are right but not entirely right. In his person and thought, Guru Nanak had evolved a new synthesis which through a process of transmutation came to encompass both what he stood for and what Guru Gobind Singh came to represent.

Such a transmutation could take place, perhaps, only in Punjab; there were strong social and philosophical reasons for it. Right from the beginning of the Christian era, tribes coming from Central Asia had been settling down in various parts of Northern India. While some of them retained their tribal structure, others had got integrated into the social structure that characterised the rest of India. When Islam entered India around the turn of the millennium, a substantial percentage of these tribes embraced Islam but the rest of them continued to be pagans.

Five or six centuries later, a large number of them took to the Sikh faith. This happened to coincide with the change of policy of the Mughal rulers and the perse-

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Guru Nanak

The Spiritual Revolutionary

By Bhagwant Singh Dalawari

Come September-October and I begin to ponder over the galaxy of our Gurus who showed us the way to live and to die. While October in 1970 changed my path for ever, at the feet of the Guru and October 1979, under his commands, brought me to the feet of leprosy patients, November frightens me because I have no face to face Guru Nanak and the stock-taking on his birthday is bound to show my hollowness and he will not spare me by telling me: CHODAILE PAKHANDA NAAM LAYIE JAE TARANDA (Oh fake devotee, give up your *pakhand* of external devotion; only *Naam* will enable you to swim the ocean of life). While Guru Nanak showed us how to live fearlessly, Guru Tegh Bahadur in November—December showed us how to live-in-death and that, too, fearlessly. December brings us to the advent of Guru Gobind Singh—his birthday sometimes falling in January and the unparalleled martyrdom of his four sons. How come that with such clear examples of truth, principled living, universal love, both in theory and in practice, we are still engrossed in *MAYA* and are trying not only to question the validity of the principles IN THE MODERN LIFE but also to indulge in endless SWALJAWAB knowing fully that Guru Nanak prescribed the punishment for the questioner as follows.

SALAM-JAWAB DOWEN KARE, MUDHON CHUTHA JAYE

(Any disciple who indulges in alternating respect with argumentation in the court of his Guru be uprooted from his base)

Religion And Symbols

It is said that after all his travels, when Guru Nanak settled down for 18 years in Kartarpur to give a practical lesson to the whole world as to how the life is to be lived with Lord in the heart, devotion and obedience in action, work for livelihood and sharing with others for solidarity with the downtrodden, it must have been a *baikunth* because SADH SANGAT BAIKUNTHE AHE (*Sadhsangat* is really heaven). However, since people had isolated religion in terms of outer symbols, brahmanical hoodwinking and priestly usurpation, many of them found it difficult to reconcile themselves to Guru Nanak's ways which not only insisted but practically demonstrated that *bhakti* was a 24-hour business ALONG WITH discharge of worldly responsibilities in truthful, honest means of livelihood, with service in money and in

person of the *sangat* with Lord's Name being ceaselessly recited. HASANDIAN, KHELANDIAN, KHAWANDIAN, PEHNANDIAN, VICHE HOME MUKAT (Laughing, playing, eating and wearing (clothes) in the world, let us be liberated right in the midst of these activities).

While the Kartarpur experiment was in progress, some *sadhus*, who INITIALLY did not have the eyes of Bhai LEHNAJI came and witnessed the activities in a religious *ashram* and were bewildered. They exclaimed to Guru Nanak: "Sir, You seem to be rearing bulls!" "Guruji did not retort back but asked the *Sadhus* to stay some time longer. After some time when they saw the Sikhs engaged in ceaseless prayer, work, humility, service and the *sangat* and *pangat* in the evening and at *amritvela*, the *Sadhus* remarked, No, Sir, you are rearing human beings. Guru Nanak again asked the *Sadhus* to stay longer. After some time, they said that Guruji was rearing DEVTAS. They were prevailed upon to stay still longer and when they finally left, they told Guru Nanak, "Sir, you are rearing these people in such a way that they have become the *roop* of God! "How wonderful to hear of such greatness and purity of our Guru and how beautiful to talk of the tributes from others to our Gurus and martyrs of yore. But I am ashamed to say that PIDRAM SULTAN BOOD (My father was a King!) would not do. Let us talk of our position today.

Myth and Reality

I am afraid Myth and Reality if Guru Nanak himself comes today and sees so many guard-waras with high domes, some gilded, with huge sarovars, with vast marble floors and other paraphernalia, BUT WITH DEVOTEES observing his instructions more in breach than in obedience, he will be shocked. I begin to remember the words of Kabir, because Guru Nanak is antar-jami THAR HAR KAMPE BAAL JIONA JANA KYA KARSIO (says Kabir: My little soul trembles; I don't know what my Master will do to me:) When he sees me with black money, with Guru Granth Sahib in one room and whiskey in the other, when he sees me telling endless lies, when he sees indulging in reckless hatred not only of others but of even my fellow-Sikhs, my family members, when he sees me in dishonest earnings, when he sees me in quarrelling, abusing fellow Sikhs, pulling my brothers turbans and attacking them with kirpans in the gurdwaras, he is going to remember

the words of *Sadhus* who first thought that he was rearing BULLS (SAHNS, animals). I do not know about others but I know I am not worthy of facing Guru Nanak. I only pray for forgiveness, for pardon, in his own words:

KAMATION JAMME KHATE KARNIT KHATIAN VICH PAS DHOTE MOOL NA UTRE, JE SAU DHOWAN PAE, NANAK BAKSHE BAKSIAN, NAHIN TAN PAI PAE.

(My Lord, I was born in sin, I shall go on sinning; I know my sins cannot be washed away, even I am washed hundred times. My prayer is (says Nanak) that IF YOU, IN YOUR GRACIOUSNESS, WERE TO FORGIVE ME, THEN ALONE CAN I BE SAVED, otherwise I shall be shoebeaten.)

Now, when I pray like this, two thoughts come to me, Perhaps, with the grace of Guru Nanak. Indeed I am a sinner but when I pray in your own words, I am pierced in my heart about your purity and my treachery, your straightforward humility and my under-served haughtiness, your unlimited grace and my unlimited rottenness. But the second thought is of hope. Did not Bhai Gurdasji say:

"BHAGAT-VACHCHAL SUN HOT HOUN NIRAS RIDE PATIT PAWAN SUN AASA URDHAR HOUN"

(When I hear that you protect the *Bhaktas*, I am disappointed because I have no *bhakti* to my credit, but when I hear that you are lifter of the fallen (PATIT PAWAN), hope rises in my heart that I can be saved, too.)

Then again I yearn for your mercy in the words of Kabir, for after all I am your son. Am I not? "Ramayia, houn harak tera, kahe na khandas auganmera." (oh Lord, I am your child; why don't you remove my faults?)

Indeed when Guru Nanak, to teach us, talks of "being shoebeaten", even the lowliest impulses in me begin to mellow down and pray to the Guru Nanak in the following words:

"JAISE BALAK BHAYE-SUBHAE LAKH APRADH KAMAWA KAR UPDESH JHIKE BHAI BATT BAHUR PITA GAL LAEW PICHECHLE AUGAN BAKSH LAYE PRAB AAGE MARG PAWE"

(Just as a child, by nature, commits numerous faults and the father rebukes him, teaches him and again embraces him, Oh Lord,

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Sexual Equality



SEXUAL EQUALITY

WORKERS IN AN
ASIAN PLANTATION SYSTEM

Shobhita Jain

Sexual Equality, Shobhita Jain, Sterling Publishers Pvt Ltd, New Delhi 110 016, 1988, 140 pp. Rs. 125.

Reviewed By Neera Swaroop

Shobhita Jain's *Sexual Equality* comes as a balm to heal the wounds of the victims of sex discrimination. The book parabolically depicts a mini culture where both the sexes work in harmony to enjoy a relatively equal status. The social conditions and occupational requirements of the plantation, Compel the workers of Nimari tea garden, a division of a large plantation Behula Tea Estate, to work in mutual cooperation thereby dissolving all sex differences.

The book highlights the various aspects of their society like family, marriage, kinship, child-rearing practices and 'world view' of the tea plantation workers in Assam, India. It is a curse that these labourers unknowingly not only encourage capitalism but entrust their exploiters with all the powers to make them omnipotent.

Nimari tea garden is a 'miniature township', though unplanned. The dwelling of a Nimari labourer indicates his social standing in the age-old hierarchical system. Their lifestyle is in keeping with their occupational requirements, day-to-day social practices and thought processes. They live a 'tea garden style of life'. No particular religious practices are adhered to for places of worship are missing from the scene.

As both men and women are working, the dependency of a woman on a man is reduced. If the

couple is working, the house is usually allotted in the name of the husband, 'if he is unemployed or a temporary worker it is allotted in the name of the woman employee'. Even the Estate management is impartial as the members of both the sexes can equally avail of the yield of their hardwork. Which is not the case in many parts of the developing and underdeveloped countries around the world.

Unlike in many other plantations 'child marriage' does not exist in Nimari. No 'dowry system' prevails. Quite the opposite, here it is rather the boy's family who pays the 'bride price'. A Nimari woman usually gets married at 16 to 18 years of age. And a man is, like in any other society, older than his wife. In cases of misunderstandings or incompatibility of the partners it is usually the girl who decides to break up the marriage by returning to her parents. There is no social stigma attached to a mutually agreed divorce and the girl is entitled to marry again without any qualms. But in this kind of a setup there is no scope for self development and economic mobility for a woman. Moreover, despite a fair degree of open interaction between husband and wife no major change has been observed in their conjugal roles.

Although 'both the parents are indulgent towards their infants' they do not believe in educating

their children because they think that education does not guarantee jobs. The parental absence for 'a considerable part the day makes the children independent and self-reliant.'

As the children grow up and get married, they are eventually separated to setup a new independent household 'maintaining a closer interaction with their natal families.' Almost all the Nimari households are related through kinship. After the separation, life for them becomes 'a perpetual cycle of work.'

After discussing egalitarianism in gender relations, the author in the latter half of the book goes on to discuss 'the Nimari workers' interaction with the world outside'. She goes on to say that the Nimari workers' identification with the 'labour' class appears to be crystallising in a rudimentary fashion...and the disharmony and discord operative at several levels among the workers are mostly confined to the plantation environment which allows little scope for the workers to interact with the local Assamese population.' And as there are remote possibilities for mobility outside and inside the plantation the question of competition does not arise.

The book is marked by various maps' tables and ethnographic data which not only clarifies what the author wants to say but also reveals the painstakingly close observation the author had to make in order to procure the now available wide spectrum of documentary research.

In Nimari the Assam Chah Karmchari Sangha (ACMS), the

The Spiritual Revolutionary

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forgive my previous sins, and show me the path for the future;)

Degeneration

I think it is certainly a matter for researchers, the well-meaning

Assam Tea Garden Staff Union, was and is the only union to integrate the workers politically. All Estate Workers in Nimari are members of this union. But 'the inevitable link of the trade unions with the political parties' result in the 'neglect of the real issues concerning the workers.'

Shobita Jain, a very affable person, has obtained her Ph D from the Centre for the Study of Social Systems, Jawaharlal Nehru University. Having held teaching and research assignments in India and abroad, she has completed a research consultancy for FAO, Rome, which deals with the impact of farm forestry in Gujarat. Presently she is a Reader in Sociology at Indira Gandhi National Open University, New Delhi.

This significant piece of work should compel the concerned authorities to mobilise action for changing the present working and living conditions on the tea gardens. The book reflects how important sexual equality is to abolish the mundane complexities, like dowry, child-marriage, widowhood, stigma attached to divorce, etc, of life.

spiritual scholars, the God-oriented and God-fearing individuals to analyse how, WITH SUCH CLEAR AND UNAMBIGUOUS MESSAGE OF UNIVERSAL ONENESS AND INTERNAL PURITY, we have degenerated into the same kind of externally pious-looking guardwara-going people with no purity of heart. Let me take just one example of how Guru Nanak's love changed thieves into great men, but how has his love and label changed us from DEVTAS and PRABHOO-ROOP individuals to hypocrites, self-seeking Sikhs. Sikhs only in name?

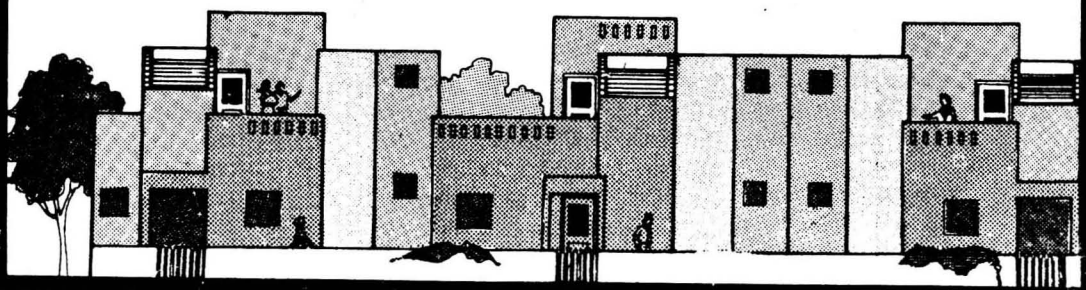
CAN WE TAKE THE HELP OF OUR GREAT REVOLUTIONARY GURU TO BECOME BHUMIYA ON HIS BIRTHDAY AND PROMISE THAT WE SHALL AT LEAST DO THOSE THINGS THAT BHUMIYA DID? And Guru Nanak is bound to show his grace and indulgence to get us out of the quagmire that we are now bogged in?

CHARAN SARAN GUR EK PENDA JAYE; SATGUR KOT KENDA AAGE HOW LEIT HAIN (Walk one step towards the Guru, he takes crores of steps to welcome us to his path).

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Champion Of Global Peace

By V. Longer



Jawaharlal Nehru, the first Prime Minister of India, was the main architect of the foreign and defence policies of the country. Indeed, these policies were rooted in the soil of India. But, the seedlings sprouted, as they were planted by Nehru, drawing sustenance from the history, culture and the social milieu of the nation.

Nehru grew with India. In the years that passed by, throughout the world in the remotest regions of the world-India was recognized by the name of Nehru. India's voice was heard throughout the world; Nehru's voice reverberated in the four corners of the world.

Nehru, sensitive, human and overflowing with compassion, was the most charismatic leader of men, magnetic, adorable; his intellect was searching and his perceptions were acute. Nehru had the amazing capacity to comprehend and absorb variegated thoughts which were then synthesised by him.

Expanding Friendship

Young Nehru, brimming with verve, vivacity and ideals, made his debut on the international stage at Brussels where he represented the Indian National Congress at the International Congress against Imperialism, in February 1927. What he saw and heard there left indelible impressions on his youthful mind. Those thoughts and opinions remained

with him throughout his life: Abhorrence of imperialism and colonialism; the desire to see all nations free; solidarity for the Asian nations and an unfailing friendship for China, recalling the India-China association dating back to 3,000 years.

After Brussels, Nehru went to Moscow for four days in November 1924. He came back full of "the mightiest experiment in history" which had been launched by Russia. The socialist in Nehru who reached out to the common man was greatly excited by what he saw there.

The following year, the All India Congress Committee opened its Foreign Department which was directed mainly by Nehru. The intellectual sweep of Nehru was wide; He had studied and understood the history of mankind. This flavoured his thoughts. His discernment of world affairs was keen.

Clear Vision Of Defence

Nehru had expounded his views on defence, in two articles which he wrote for "Young India" in 1931. Nehru was convinced of the absence of any threat to India. Who would want to threaten India particularly as India wanted to live in peace with no extraterritorial ambitions? Nevertheless, Nehru felt, the nation had to prepare itself for all eventualities and refurbish and reconstruct its defence forces. The Indian Army,

though capable and competent, had to be reorganised into "a truly national Army". The Armed forces had to be equipped with the latest scientific equipment to become a "highly efficient, mechanised defence force". Nehru was clear that the British personnel of the Indian armed forces had to leave; India with its manpower resources could fill the gap.

When in 1946, India stood on the threshold of independence, Nehru, speaking in Bombay on January 8, was explicit that if India's security was threatened, the nation would "inevitably" defend itself in every way possible. When asked whether India would acquire atomic bombs, Nehru clarified that India would develop atomic power for peaceful uses. In fact, as early as April 1954, India urged the UN for a test ban on nuclear weapons. India joined the partial Nuclear Test Ban Treaty in 1963. Nehru stood for disarmament; India readily joined the UN Special Disarmament Committee.

Taking over as the Vice-President of the Interim Government, Nehru spoke to the nation on September 7, 1946, underlining the fact that India's policy was to be free and independent, "not merely as a satellite of another nation". The accent was on peace: India wanted to be friendly with all nations "in furtherance of world peace and freedom" and "keep away from the power politics of groups".

A new feeling was astir in Asia and the people of Asia were coming closer together with India, occupying a pivotal position in "western, southern and south-east Asia". A closer union between India and South-East Asia on one side and Afghanistan, Iran and the Arab world on the other, had to be forged. India was to back the freedom struggles in Indonesia and in North and East Africa. With the United Kingdom and the Commonwealth there were to be friendly relations.

India decided to stay in the Commonwealth. Nehru was greatly respected in the Commonwealth. All the heads of state in the Commonwealth looked up to Nehru for his advice.

Greetings were sent by the Interim Government to the United States. Acting as Nehru's personal envoy, V.K. Krishna Menon, met the UN Soviet representative, M.V. Molotov and conveyed the Indian government's earnest desire for friendly relations with the Soviet Union. India sought the help of Russia. It was hoped that with China, "that mighty country with a mighty past", India's friendship will endure and grow. Towards the United Nations, India's attitude was of whole hearted cooperation.

Colossus Among Leaders

When India hosted the first Asian Relations Conference at New Delhi in March-April 1947, Nehru spoke of Asia which "after a long period of quiescence has suddenly become important again in world affairs". Two years later followed an Emergency Conference of Asian States for Indonesian Independence. India initiated an Afro-Asian bloc in the United Nations. But, the glorious climax came in 1955 when Nehru's dream of "Asia reborn, proud and free" came true at the historic Afro-Asian Conference at Bandung.

Bandung, mirroring the resurgence of Asia, touched the meridian of Nehru's political vision. Nehru was the main moving spirit behind the six-day conference of 29 States of Asia, Africa and West Asia. It was at the instance of Nehru that China was invited to the Conference.

Nehru bestrode the world like a colossus. His sensitive mind was quick to all situations in the world: Civil War in Spain, the Palestinian cause, wars in Korea and the erstwhile States of Indo-China, the progress of Viet Nam, events in South Africa, the Cyprus question, crises in Burma and Malaya, advancements in Ethiopia, Sudan and Nigeria and the defence of the Indian Ocean.

The leaders of the world paid heed to what Nehru said. Nehru's voice was the voice of Asia, demanding recognition and seeking freedom and equality. Nehru was full of life, buoyant and charmingly impetuous. He had the vision of one world.

Free India was born in an atmosphere of Cold War and Prime Minister Nehru's greatest contribution to international affairs as also to world peace was the theory and practice of non-alignment: India, opposed to military deterrence, had decided to stay away from warring blocs, maintaining an independent approach in judging various international problems. Deeply embedded in this policy of non-alignment was the security of India. If India remained friendly with all countries and allied itself with no rival military groups, the security of India would not be disturbed.

Messiah Of Non-alignment

Nehru was the leader of Asia and the founding father of non-alignment. The main concept of non-alignment which could serve as a golden bridge in a bipolar world and grant dignity and independence of action to the Third World, had germinated in his mind some years before indepen-

dence. In course of time Nehru was identified with the movement. He was accepted as the undisputed leader of the non-aligned world.

Nehru spoke of non-alignment as a "positive policy for peace". Together with President Gamal Nasser of Egypt who admired Nehru as an elder statesman and Marshal Tito of Yugoslavia, Nehru established non-alignment as a world movement. This dovetailed excellently with anti-colonialism, equality among races, mediation for relaxing international tensions, support for Asia and the Arab cause, and peaceful co-existence. These were the main strands of India's foreign policy. They were explained by Nehru when speaking at the UN General Assembly in Paris on November 3, 1948.

Nehru wanted peace for development in India. Development he considered essential for defence saying: "Defence consists of armed forces plus their equipment, etc., plus the industrial production of the country, plus the economy of the country, plus the morale of the people, plus the international relations or international position".

Nehru looked upon several national problems in the context of international relations. India could not live and grow in isolation. Nehru kept India's windows wide open to the world. There was a ceaseless flow of world leaders to India; Nehru was the lodestone which attracted them. Nehru had made India the cynosure of all eyes.

Non-alignment and peaceful co-existence dominated the fifties when India perceived a threat only from Pakistan even though Nehru had offered a "No-War pact" with Pakistan. Post-Partition problems and Kashmir had stood in the way. The Pakistan-US link-up made it worse. India-US relations, too, had soured especially over the US military aid to Pakistan and Pakistan's entry into the US-sponsored CENTO and SEATO which Nehru considered "disturbing".

Friend Of Neighbours

1950 was a crucial year: Chinese troops had entered Tibet and the war in Korea had brought the United States in confrontation with China and Russia. Indian mediation helped to restore peace in Korea. In the process, India's friendship with USSR and China was cemented. This countered the threat from US-Pakistan military alliances.

The India-China Treaty on Tibet (1954) ensured the security of India and promoted the five principles of "Panchsheel". The security of the northern borders was the primary concern of the treaties,

Continued on page 13

Experiences Of Eucalyptus Growers In Gujarat

By Abhijit Bhattacharjee

The achievement of Gujarat in promoting farm forestry on private land is claimed to be one of the major success stories in the country. Beginning with the 1980s, farmers all over the prosperous well-irrigated districts of Kheda, Mehsana, Ahmedabad, Bhavnagar, Baroda and Surat of Gujarat went in for block planting of eucalyptus on their farmland, obviously lured by the prospects of making a fortune from the state-sponsored social forestry programme which appeared to have all the makings of a big business. But the experiences of the last two years have not been on expected lines and many farmers now find themselves losers in the game, if not in utter ruins so far. The years 1987 and 1988 have been a total crash in the price of eucalyptus, and if reports trickling in from all parts of Gujarat are any indication, this crash is not a freak phenomenon but a warning for farmers.

Here in the tribal regions of Baroda district covering the Chhotandepur, Naswadi and Tilakwadi talukas, the situation has already rung alarm bells among the tree-growers as well as the promoters of farm forestry programme. What makes things especially difficult for the farmers here is that in comparison to the commercial farmers of more prosperous Kheda or Mehsana district, these tribal farmers have smaller land holdings and, therefore, in the face of a price-fall as is now witnessed in the case of eucalyptus, the resilience of these farmers to stand any major shortfall in the expected pay-off is much lower. In other words, disaster or economic ruin can easily take them over.

Manda Dhirubi of Sajwa village in the Naswadi taluka planted in 1982 eucalyptus on 1.5 acres of his farmland on which he used to previously grow maize and pulses. In 1982, he calculated that 2500 eucalyptus trees on this land would fetch him about Rs 70,000 after 5-6 years when the trees are harvested. He, therefore, planted eucalyptus on his land. Manda says that although he did not provide intensive irrigation throughout the growth period of these trees, during the first two years after planting he used to provide at least three to four irrigations during the winter and summer months every year. Manda has been desperately trying to sell these six years old trees for the last 8-9 months, and has travelled as far as to Ahmedabad in search of prospective buyers. But all that the 'potential'-buyers would offer him is a flat rate

Difference Between 1986 Price And 1988 Price Level.			
Diameter of trees on Manda's land (Inches)	% of no. of trees	Price Manda is likely to get for each tree (Rs.)	Price Manda would have received at 1986-price level (Rs.)
Upto 2.5"	37	2.50	10.00
2.5-3.5"	30	11.00	20.00
3.5-4"	18	16.00	33.00
4-5"	15	23.00	60.00
Net Revenue under different price situation -		20,054	46,816
*After deducting all selling costs.			

of Rs 7 to 8 per 20 kg. of the pole and firewood obtainable from the trees, including costs of felling, cleaning, etc. and transportation cost to Ahmedabad. Manda works out that at this price, his present stock of 1900 trees would not fetch him a net revenue more than Rs 15 to 16,000. He has therefore, decided not to sell the trees now, although he had initially planned to clear the land and start taking crops from this monsoon.

Another farmer, Chandubhai Dumada, of Jamba village had planted eucalyptus on two acres (of which about 0.75 acres were under the 'cultivated' category and the rest were uncultivated land) in the same year. Today he has a standing stock of 4000 trees with diameter ranging from 2 to 4.5 inches. He is also in the same boat with Manda.

And so are many others. In a survey conducted recently by a voluntary agency working in this area, it was found that in the 15 villages surveyed there were at least 36 block tree-planters who had brought their land under eucalyptus in the early phase of the farm forestry programme but are not able to dispose of their standing trees (about 122,000 trees, planted on about 85 acres of land). The average price currently being offered by buyers is in the range of Rs 6.00 to Rs 8.00 (per 20 kgs.), including all incidental costs of selling.

From our discussion with a farmer who was one of the fortunate few to have disposed of his eight acre eucalyptus crop in late 1986 and from the information provided by knowledgeable sources in the voluntary agency, we tried to compute the difference between the average price Manda's eucalyptus trees are likely to fetch now and what he would have realized at the 1986

on the farmer's income, but it is fairly indicative of the rapidly falling profitability of eucalyptus farming.

In many villages farmers have already harvested their trees six months back in order to clear the land for taking kharif crops this year, but no one has been able to sell their harvested trees. In three villages namely, Sajwa, Ambalag and Bhindal (the first two in Naswadi taluka and the last in Chhotandepur taluka), this reporter met several farmers whose trees are now rotting away in their courtyard, lying exposed to rains. Even the voluntary agency which had harvested about 20,000 eucalyptus trees in January this year is in the same predicament. They are now trying to dispose of the harvested trees as fuelwood.

All these have had their effect on the farm forestry programme in this area this year. A range forest officer at Naswadi informed this

reporter that inspite of record monsoon this year, the lifting of seedlings by private farmers from the forest department's nursery has been very low. In the previous years, while about half of the Forest nurseries' eucalyptus seedlings used to be lifted by farmers (and the other half going to the strip plantation, roadside plantation, etc. implemented by the Department itself), this year the proportion was around only 10 per cent. The voluntary agency which for the last four years has been on an average raising and planting of one million seedlings every year, of which eucalyptus alone accounted for over 65 percent during 1986 and 1987 planting seasons, has not included a single sapling of eucalyptus in their 1.5 million seedlings nursery this year. Instead, they have diversified this species-mix to include all kinds of local species which have high use-value for the tribals and are in great demand. One only hopes the Forest Department will take cue from here and change their species-mix too, atleast from next year.

Although for the farmers the damage has already been done, as they say, its never too late to learn.

(N.F.S. INDIA)

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By K.K. Khullar

Maharaja Ranjit Singh A Great Secularist

In the Khudabaksh Library, Patna, there is a rare manuscript by an unknown author (manuscript 622) entitled "Hisabnama: Fauji-Ranjit Singh". It gives an excellent account of the great catholicity of Maharaja Ranjit Singh. It also gives the exact percentage of Muslim officers in the armies of Ranjit Singh, their names, ranks, pay and other details.

This has been corroborated by a recent book entitled "The Real Ranjit Singh" published from Pakistan which says: "In the appointment of public offices Ranjit Singh took special care to see that each community received its due share, not only in the lower but also in the higher ranks, especially in and around the court. The key posts in his civil and military administration were held by people belonging to various communities and hailing from different parts of the world—Muslims, Sikhs, Khatri, Brahmins, Dogras, Rajputs, Pathans, Italians, Englishmen, Frenchmen, Americans and so on. There were 41 high ranking Muslim officers in the army, two of them Generals and several of them Colonels, and the rest holding other important ranks."

British Distortion

The records of East India Company describe Ranjit Singh as totally unlettered, illiterate. According to eye-witness account the Maharaja knew Punjabi, Hindi and Persian. He loved Urdu and Multani and had learnt many sweet words of Kashmiri and Sindhi. A great votary of the spoken word, he made agriculture, commerce and book-keeping compulsory in the Punjab schools, sanctioned large sums of money for the translation of epics and religious books of all religions. He encouraged the study of English language and established a number of Maktabas and Madrasas.

Persian was the court language but all discussions took place in Punjabi. Syed Mohammed Latif, who published his "History of the

Punjab" from Calcutta in 1891 says: "He entertained great respect for learning and learned men. His secretaries were in perpetual attendance on him, and he had the papers read out to him in Persian, Punjabi and Hindi, and he saw that his orders were drawn up in due form and that the drafts met his views." In 1831 when the Governor General, Lord William Bentinck, asked Azizuddin at Simla which of the Maharaja's eye was missing, the Fakir who was too proud of his master, felt hurt at the remark and replied: "Your Excellency", the Maharaja has a single eye like the sun, if he had two eyes he would have burnt the world into cinders. Just as no body dare give full look at the sun, I have never dared to cast my eyes at the Maharaja's face. My eyes are always fixed at his gracious feet. If your great Honour wish to have some information about his feet, I may be able to give it you".

Lord William Bentinck was so much impressed with this reply that he took out the gold watch out of his pocket and presented it to the Governor Minister of Punjab. "So long as Ranjit Singh has men like you to serve him", remarked the Governor General, "no harm can come to his kingdom".

Communal Amity

But what was the secret of Maharaja's popularity among people of all communities? The answer is not very far to seek. The Maharaja symbolised a movement which stood for tolerance for the other man's point of view and clemency to the fallen foe as is evident in the cases of defeated Nawabs of Kasur and Multan, Kutubuddin and Muzzafar Khan and several other Muslim chiefs who came to measure swords with him in the field of battle. The minorities led very respectable life.

There were no forced conversions in Punjab, not even a single communal riot in his reign, no language controversies and no second class citizenry. Any

talented man could go to the court of Lahore and demand his due. The case of the Muslim calligraphist who came all the way from Rampur to Lahore after having tried his luck in the courts of Muslim princes at Rampur, Lucknow and Hyderabad to sell the calligraphic copy of the Holy Quran is an instance in point demanded ten thousand rupees which no Muslim prince could pay. Ranjit Singh got up from his golden chair, kissed the Holy Book and asked his Finance Minister to pay the man the price.

Fakir Azizuddin who in attendance was surprised and asked the Maharaja why he was paying fabulous a price for the book which did not belong to his religion. The Maharaja's only eye twinkled and he said: "God had ordained that I should look upon all the religions with the same eye; perhaps that is why he took the light from the other".

People's King

Ranjit Singh also went to Benares where he gave a gift of 22 maunds of gold for the Vishwanath temple. Often he went to the Badshahi Masjid at Lahore and knelt down in prayer along with his Muslim brothers. He never sat on the Mughal throne nor did he wear any crown. Being of the Jat stock he asked the peasantry to address him as 'Brother' and not as 'Badshah'. His first public act after the conquest of Lahore at the age of 18 was to pay a visit to Badshahi Masjid and the Shalamar Bagh, he asked his Muslim supporters, "Because Shal-mar in Persian means Killer of love": replied the faithfuls. "This is Punjab, not Persia. Love is kindled not killed here. From today onward the Bagh would be known as Shali Bagh (Garden of the Beloved).

Full freedom of religion was given to the people. Actually it was under their influence that the

Maharaja's respect for other religions became pronounced. Dus-sehra, Baisakhi, Idd, Diwali and Holi were declared state festivals. The Hindu participation in the Muslim festivals and the Muslim participation in the Hindu festivals the common features of the Punjab of those days.

Wrong Versions

The gossip accounts of the British travellers, however, continue to tell us that the Maharaja's soldiers tortured the minorities, de-flowered every maiden they met in the fort or the field, exacted taxes from every passerby. My recent researches into the Punjab papers lead me to say that the Maharaja possessed very tender heart and that he was most sensitive to the finer feelings of others.

Ranjit Singh's respect for life and property for his subjects was exemplary. Unlike Mahmud, Mohammed Ghor, Timur, Babur, Nadir Shah, Ahmed Shah, and Zaman Shah who had plundered Punjab with impunity sparing neither man nor beast, the Maharaja did not allow his armies to indulge in carnage when he conquered Peshawar, Multan or Kashmir. The armies had standing instructions not to burn any place of prayer or worship nor molest any woman. At Peshawar, for example, the civilian population was asked to continue its daily activity as usual. Seated on his elephant on November 19, 1818, when the 28-year old Indian King rode through the streets of Peshawar avenging the defeats of eight centuries the holy men of the town blessed the conqueror for they had never seen a victor like him.

The conduct of the Punjabi soldier under Col. Shaikh Baswan who carried the Maharaja's flag across Khyber and participated in the victory parade at Kabul in 1839 was equally praise-worthy.

Fame Far And Wide

Mohanlal, an English educated Delhi boy, who went with Sir Alexander Burnes in his mission to Kabul and published his 'Travels' from London in 1846.

Mohanlal also met the Persian King, Abbas Mirza, on October 6, 1832, at Mashad. At every step he is reminded of the Punjab ruler: "He (Abbas Mirza) had not a single symbol of royalty, and looked not equal to the least chieftain under the Punjab sovereign. He passed through a regular company who saluted him with 4 guns. Their dress was poor and dirty, and their arms were covered with dust. I had heard the Persian dynasty praised but it appeared nothing on examination. I imagine that the true regal pomp is only seen in the court of the Punjab ruler, whose name struck my ears everywhere, even in the deserts of Turkistan. Many people imagined that Ranjit Singh was the only king of India."

And when Abbas Mirza asked him whether the Indian army could compare in discipline and courage with the Persian Sirbaz (stakers of their heads), Mohanlal replied that if Sardar Hari Singh Nalwa (C-in-C of the Maharaja's Frontier forces) were to cross the river Indus, His Highness would be glad to make good his retreat to his original Government in Tibriz. This happened on the day of Id-ul-Fitr which in Punjab was a common festival of Hindus and Muslims, a day when Muslims gave the needy one 'fitra' i.e. two kolos of barley or one kilo of wheat-flour, or its equivalent in cash. It must be remembered that Mohanlal was an employee of the East India Company, and as such, his account is all the more important.

No wonder, therefore, that Ranjit Singh is still the king of the minds of Punjab, both in India and Pakistan. In Kabul although the Afghan mothers still continue to scare their naughty children in the name of Hari Singh Nalwa (Haria Ragle da) they also tell the same children the tales of Ranjit Singh's generosity and secularism, the Maharaja of Lahore, the Lion of Punjab, the terror of the battle, the protector of the weak, the defender of all faiths.

Nehru : Champion Of Global Peace

Continued from page 11

bearing security contents, which had been concluded with Nepal, Bhutan and Sikkim. Defences on the borders were shored up. Roads were to be built in the northern border areas. Finally, as friendship with the Soviet Union gained strength, rising high in 1955 when Prime Minister Nehru visited Russia and Marshal Bulganin and First Secretary Khrushchev came to India, Nehru had succeeded in winning over both Russia and China. Friendship with the Soviet Union and China was considered essential for the security of India.

Unfortunately, the political scenario was heavily overcast in

1959 when China and Russia were falling apart, Tibet was in revolt and two letters from Prime Minister Chou-En-Lai in January and September that year had questioned the entire Sino-Indian boundary. Prime Minister Nehru presented to the Parliament a White Paper on India-China relations (1954-59). He continued to negotiate with China as also augment the defences: A special "Task Force" was created. Nehru never lost faith in peaceful negotiations; he hoped they would succeed. But, the unhappy events of October-November 1962 could not be averted.

Nehru was sad. But, he was

convinced that non-alignment was "as good during war as it was in peace time". He wanted the country to give "more attention to strengthening our armed forces..." New defence and training plans were prepared, new arms were to be obtained, new Mountain Divisions were to be raised and the armed forces were to be augmented.

An Indian technical delegation and subsequently a military mission were sent to Moscow in 1960. Agreements to purchase Russian helicopters, transport planes and the MIG-21 fighter planes were concluded. The bulk of the Soviet supplies came to India after 1962. Six MIG-21s arrived in India in

1964. Their assembly and their eventual indigenous production were established in India. This set the tone for the Indo-Soviet military co-operation which has grown.

Meanwhile, Pakistan with its pronounced anti-India bias had seen its opportunity and had been wooing China since 1960. President Ayub Khan had suggested to Prime Minister Nehru a joint India-Pakistan defence. Nehru, opposed to military alliances, turned down the proposal explaining that if the foreign policies of India and Pakistan did not coincide, how could their defence policies coalesce.

Not surprisingly, the India-Pakistan talks of 1962-63 col-

lapsed. Pakistan had announced that it was entering into a border agreement with China. This was in spite of the fact that Pakistan had no common border with China and it eventually bartered away 2,000 sq.miles of Indian territory in Pak-Occupied Kashmir to China.

The threat on two fronts which had been looming large became distinct. Conscious of this, Nehru was making various diplomatic efforts to combat the dangers. But, the inexorable hands of death robbed the people of India of their beloved and illustrious Prime Minister. A great son of India, one of the brightest stars in the international firmament, had passed away: May 27, 1964.

CURSE

By Balraj Verma

Continued from last issue

"Mem Sahib is quite unwell, Sir. She has sent for you," said the old woman.

As Pal was locking the door, the driver hesitatingly said: "If you don't mind, sir, may I give you the key of the car. My wife is unwell. She was hospitalized six days ago. I could have proceeded on leave. But lest I should be deprived of the overtime benefit I did not apply. If you are indulgent enough to let me go I may spend the day with my wife".

Without making any comment, Pal took the key and gave him a ten rupee note, saying: "Take with you some fruits for her".

That three-room flat was worth seeing from every point of view. Thinking that Lily lived alone, with her child, in the flat packed with the fineries of life, he felt envious of the brave woman. He recalled the child's remark: "Mom has a pistol. It kills. Everybody is afraid of Mom".

With utmost respect the maid-servant made him sit in the biggest sofa chair and said: "After ailing for six days she is feeling slightly better today. Sonnie has gone out with Jimmy uncle. This is her first bath in six days. She will be here presently".

"But you had told me that she was terribly sick."

She had asked me say so. But it is a fact that she has been out of sorts all these six days. She had caught cold on Sunday. On Monday and Tuesday she was almost senseless. Only since yesterday has she started moving out of bed. Only today doctor has permitted her to bathe. Please be seated. I'm going to bazar to fetch some vegetables. She will be here soon".

Stuck in the Sofa-set Pal kept smoking cigarette after cigarette. Then he started pacing the floor. Posh furniture, magnificent carpet and tasteful decoration betrayed sophisticated taste of the mistress. Pal went round the other rooms. Not a thing was Indian. All kitchen wares were imported—a speciality of sailors. Standing in front of the photo of Lily and Clark, he was scrutinizing the form and features of his rival when Lily, coming from behind, folded him in her arms.

"Oh. You have frightened me all of a sudden."

"Are you afraid, too?"

"Only of you. But what havoc have you played with your figure. If you were so unwell why didn't you send word to me."

"I kept musing whether I deserved your attention or not. Today you have an off day. I just thought of requesting you to take

me out for airing".

"You have left sick bed only today. You look quite weak". Pal folded her in his arms and picked her up. He exclaimed: "You are very cruel. I spent the last three evenings without having a glimpse of you. I discontinued going to Jimmy's place. I was afraid that you were repentant over that one day encounter and the speed."

"Indeed I had become feverish on that very day while sitting rather sleeping in the car. You had not touched me. Otherwise you would have felt my rising temperature".

Putting the key of the car on the table, Pal said: "Today we shall go nowhere. We shall sit here and chat".

"Only chat?"

"No, we shall chat and make love to the extent you permit."

Picking her up in the same pose he took her to the bedroom.

"Is it your bedroom dress?"

"Well, I was setting out for a stroll, when....."

"Then I, too, shall dress for a walk".

"Now we shall go nowhere". Saying this, he took his coat off and threw it over a chair nearby.

"Where's Cona gone?"

"He will be back in the evening."

"And your maid servant?"

Today she has her off day. She will be coming tomorrow, with vegetables."

"This means we two....."

"Are alone and absolutely free.....today I want to strip myself completely before you. Today I'll bare even my soul unto you. Today you'll watch all my beauty as well as my ugliness so that you could decide whether or not I'm of any use to you."

"You are a fabulously rich woman,"

"True. But all this wealth is not mine. It belonged to Clark and now it is his son's. I'm just a custodian. Everything was in Clark's name and now, according to his will, it is his son's. James's Cabin is also in Cona's name. James only runs it. I've never asked him to render account. He was a loyal friend of Clark and today he is his son's faithful patron, too. But for my personal clothes and jewellery there is nothing over here which I may call my own. For a long while James and Clark lived together. Jimmy was chief stuart and Clark was chief officer. As Chief Officer that was Clark's last voyage. On its conclusion he was to be tipped as Captain. It was on the cards. A regular announcement to this effect had also been made. But who has ever flouted fate?"

Placing his head in Lily's lap he

was listening to her life story.

She continued: "Clark had served various foreign shipping companies and in a short span of ten years he had amassed ten lacs. He had purchased this flat and, after decorating and organising it, he had made it to his taste and requirement. He never spent a penny out of his salary. He would meet his expenses and mess charges out of cards game. He won invariably. His associates cursed him. Still they would play with him. There is a saying: Lucky in cards, unlucky in love. It applied to him all right. I married him and became the mother of his son. But somehow I could never love him. He was a handsome beast. God knows from where he had learnt the art of physical love making. He had wedded me after having humiliated me dozens of times. After marriage I came to know that at almost every part of the world he had female contacts. He used to introduce me to these whores in a proud tone as if I were the biggest trophy he had bagged."

"I don't want to listen to Clark's story", said Pal and got up all of a sudden.

He resumed: "You please keep lying with me quietly. I wish to listen to your story not from your mouth alone but from your entire body. I want to hear the beating of your heart, the sound of incoming and outgoing breath. Ah! these lips of yours which he must have sucked hundreds of times but, perhaps, never kissed them. And these blue eyes on your pink face in which I can view all the seven seas raging in unison but which always escaped the notice of poor Clark."

You are a full-fledged temple, Lily-let me breathe for a few moments in this shrine. Your body is abode of your soul. Have you heard the name of the great poet Wordsworth? They say that with the entire compensation he got for one of his verse collections he purchased rose petals and having made a bed of roseates, he slept on it. Your body is made of rose petals. Let me be put to sleep by its spoor".

When Lily knocked him it was almost noontime. She said: "Get up and take tea." She was still sans clothes.

Pal again picked her up and made her lie up his side.

As the car reached the beach, Pal said: "Let us have a stroll."

"Well, I've been roaming around the heavens above since morning."

"So far we have been soaring in high heavens. Let's get down to

earth now for a while."

Upto 5 p.m. they kept treading the wet sands barefoot.

Next evening as they met in Captain's Cabin Cona was with her. For a long while he kept playing with cona. At 7 p.m. the ayah took the child away.

Pal said: "Very fond of playing."

"Why, he's the son of a sailor".

"What about mother, father, sisters and brothers of your husband?"

"But you have asked nothing about my own people?"

"Had there been anybody whom you could call your own, you would not be living alone in this vast world."

"Well said. None is my own in this world. My mother had eloped with a Muslim trader to the Middle East. And out of shame my father killed himself. I was raised by my maternal grandma. She had three sons. But all the three were first rate blighters and loafers. There is no vice in this world which they did not practise. My grandma was quite well-to-do and sole heir to her father's property. Otherwise she would have starved to death. In his lifetime my maternal grandpa had bequeathed one house each to his sons and had separated them. When he died my grandma was left alone but not unprovided for. We lived comfortably on the rent of the houses and shops she owned."

"How did you hook Clark?"

"Hook?"

"I mean how did you excite him to rape you?"

She smiled and said: "Your quest is not much wrong. Clark's father was a tenant of grandma. He was a petty clerk in a local factory. His wife, that is Clark's mother hailed from a rich family. Hence man and woman never clicked. Often she would quarrel with her husband and go to her parents' house. On one such occasion Clark had come home on leave. As you know, these sailors live with full pomp and show. Though the junior most officer, he was getting a monthly salary of five to six thousand. Every second or third day he would show up in our house. He also made it a point to meet me in the church on Sundays. He appealed to my grandma. Encouraged by her, I started mingling with him openly. Only a week earlier I had completed my intermediate exam. Mine was a surging youth. Rather than educating me further my grandma wanted to get rid of me by marrying me off. One day Clark took me to his house. His mother was away to her parents' house and his father was at his office. There was none else in the house. He had already closed all the doors of the house I resented and screamed. But he was turned on terribly. That day he raped me thrice."

"Rape is only when you are taken in for the first time."

"After the first go I didn't object."

"Somebody has rightly remarked that when rape is inevitable why not relax and enjoy."

"You are very naughty. When we parted we were friends. But reaching back home I related the story of his outrage and my helplessness in such an innocent tone that grandma's blood began to curdle. She sent for Clark's mother. Our house became venue of a long conference in which all others except Clark and I participated. I mean Clark's parents, my grandma and my three maternal uncles. As a result we got married. Cona had entered my womb in the very first sex encounter with Clark. When the news of my grandma's death was broken, we were on board the ship. I reached home

from Tokyo by air. But my eldest maternal uncle, the strongest and deadiest of the three uncles, had already grabbed the house. Nobody welcomed me. Perforce I had to stay with my in-laws. Cona was by now frisking in my womb. Therefore, instead of returning to Clark, I stayed with his parents and waited for him. Despite being the fruit of Clark's franzo and my weakness, Cona turned out to be a pretty babe. Apple of his grandparents' eyes. Even the conflict between my father-in-law and mother-in-law had died down. According to shipping rules, I had to live alone for one year. In the meantime my mother-in-law died. Clark came to mourn and returned alone.

Cona was hardly ten months old when one night my father-in-law, whom I considered to be a simple and gentle person, broke into my room in a drunken state. Before I could compose myself he put on my mouth a hankie dipped in a strong tincture. I fainted at once. When I came to my senses I found myself outraged.

Clark's daddy now started addressing me as "Lily darling." Now we lived together not as father and daughter but as man and woman. Though middle-aged he was a full blooded man. After every six months Clark came, stayed for a month or two and returned. I never allowed him to get a wind of my new relationship with his father. The old man, too, was very cautious. I had realized that if the secret was out Clark would write me off and depart. The old man was jealous of Clark and exclaimed: "If I could help I would kill this bastard."

I reacted: "You humiliated your son's wife and now you are thinking of destroying him, too. Are you a man or a beast?" And then he revealed to me that Clark was not his son. He confided: "He had been for six months in his mother's womb his maternal grandpa, taking undue advantage of my penury, married his daughter to me and sent us abroad for two years. As a confirmation of his assertion, he showed me a confession written by Clark's mother in her own hand. "Every woman who had had pre-marital affairs, foregoes that respect which a chaste wife can claim by virtue of her position." "Dozens of times the old man repeated this observation to me and I kept quiet every time".

To be concluded

Hadlee, The Greatest

Hadlee's Another Five Wicket Feat

Besides his record of highest wickets in Test cricket, Richard John Hadlee also did the feat of dismissing five Indian batsmen in the first innings of the Bangalore Test. This is the 33rd time that the Kiwi paceman has pocketed half the team or more. It is six times more than the second best Ian Botham who had done this feat on 27 occasions.

Richard Hadlee has done the feat of five wickets against all the current Test playing countries and quite consistently in the recent years. He has recorded this feat 13 times against Australians, seven times against England, four times each against Pakistan and West Indies, thrice against India and twice against Sri Lanka.

Hadlee's best bowling performance is 9/52 against Australia in the Brisbane Test of 1985-86.

Hadlee's Five Wicket Haul

Wkt/Runs	Against	Venue	Year
7 23	India	Wellington	1975-76
5 121	Pakistan	Lahore	76-77
6 26	England	Wellington	77-78
5 84	England	Lord's	1978
5 62	Pakistan	Christchurch	78-79
5 104	Pakistan	Auckland	78-79
5 34	West Indies	Dunedin	79-80
5 68	West Indies	Dunedin	79-80
5 87	Australia	Perth	80-81
5 57	Australia	Melbourne	80-81
5 47	India	Christchurch	80-81
5 63	Australia	Auckland	81-82
6 100	Australia	Christchurch	81-82
6 53	England	Oval	1983
5 93	England	Lord's	1983
5 28	England	Christchurch	83-84
5 73	Sri Lanka	Colombo	83-84
5 29	Sri Lanka	Colombo	83-84
6 51	Pakistan	Dunedin	84-85
9 52	Australia	Brisbane	85-86
her 71	Australia	Brisbane	85-86
5 65	Australia	Sydney	85-86
5 65	Australia	Perth	85-86
6 90	Australia	Perth	85-86
7 116	Australia	Christchurch	1986
6 80	England	Lord's	1986
6 80	England	Trent Bridge	1986
6 105	West Indies	Auckland	1987
6 50	West Indies	Christchurch	1987
5 68	Australia	Adelaide	1987
5 109	Australia	Melbourne	1987
5 67	Australia	Melbourne	1987
5 65	India	Bangalore	1988

Hadlee's 10 Wickets In A Test

Analysis (1st+2nd)	Against	Venue	Year
11/58 (4/35 + 7/23)	India	Wellington	75-76
10/100 (4/74 + 6/26)	England	Wellington	77-78
11/102 (5/34 + 6/68)	West Indies	Dunedin	79-80
10/102 (5/73 + 5/29)	Sri Lanka	Colombo	83-84
15/123 (9/52 + 6/71)	Australia	Brisbane	85-86
11/155 (5/65 + 6/90)	Australia	Perth	85-86
10/140 (6/80 + 4/60)	England	Nottingham	1986
10/176 (5/109 + 5/67)	Australia	Melbourne	87-88

A venue-wise analysis of Hadlee's five wicket performance would reveal that he has done this feat 14 times on home pitches (six times at Christchurch, his birth-place, thrice each at Auckland and Dunedin and twice at Wellington) ten times in Australia, five times in England, twice in Sri Lanka and once each in Pakistan and India.

Continued from page 16

edified height of 300 wickets in his 61st Test in February 86 when he dismissed Allan Border of Australia at Wellington.

10. His 350th wicket was achieved in Christchurch in March 87 when he dismissed R.B. Richardson of West Indies.

11. His 355th wicket was Ravi Ratnayake of Sri Lanka in April 87 at Colombo to equal Dennis Lillee's record.

12. His 373rd wicket was achieved in Melbourne in December 87 when he dismissed Tony Dodemaide of Australia to equal Ian Botham's world record.

13. His 374th record breaking victim was India's Arun Lal in the Bangalore Test on 12th November 1988.

It is truly remarkable that a New Zealander should have emerged as the highest wicket-taker in the world and not one of the big three, the West Indies, England and Australia. Playing for a comparatively weak side, Hadlee has had to endure constraints similar to those faced by Sunil Gavaskar while becoming the highest run getter in the world.

Like Gavaskar, Hadlee also has had cricket in his blood. While Gavaskar got it from his maternal uncle (Madhav Mantri, the former Indian wicket-keeper), Hadlee got it from his father, Walter Hadlee, who had captained New Zealand and involved himself in a long administrative career. Richard's brother Dale Hadlee also played Test cricket and another brother Barry won a place in a few one day internationals. Perhaps, such a family tradition of a father and his sons becoming cricketers can be compared with Amarnaths of India.

Visions Of Guru Nanak

Continued from page 9

cution of the fifth guru. What followed later on need not be described for it is very well known. As the clash between the Mughal rulers and the Sikhs increased in intensity and ferocity, more and more of these clans and tribes turned towards Sikhism. Under Banda, they virtually took over the leadership of the community and during the next half century there followed a kind of guerilla warfare between them and the rulers the like of which had hardly been witnessed in India till then.

Because of this interplay between the history of Punjab in that eventful period and the sociology of the people who embraced the Sikh faith, Sikhism came to have a career which could not have been anticipated in the beginning. Those who feel critical of what has been happening since wish to discover an explanation for it. In attempting to do so, they sometimes mistakenly draw a distinction between the teachings of Guru Nanak and Guru Gobind Singh.

Even if, for the sake of argument, one were to agree with this approach, that does not resolve the issue. The plain fact is that the Sikhs today are what they are. Not only that, they are heirs to a tradition which took two hundred years to evolve in the first instance and almost as long after that to assume the shape that it has taken now.

Whatever else may be said about this tradition, one thing is clear about it. Guru Nanak did not confirm to the mould which had characterised his predecessors and contemporaries in the Bhakti tradition. He very much belongs to that tradition; of that there should be no doubt. But he brought a new orientation to it. It may be described, in brief, as being

humanistic in outlook together with a call for positive action, as and when required.

Humanism we do get in that age and in the writings and pronouncements of a number of saints and seers. Hence the emphasis on the equality of one man with another. Hence the condemnation of the caste system and empty rituals and a dozen other things that dehumanise men. But where else does one get such a categorical statement, "He alone should sit on the throne who is fit to rule?" To put it in the modern idiom, it was a revolutionary statement to make for that age, and Guru Nanak alone could make it.

It is this vision of Guru Nanak which has informed and shaped all that has happened subsequently. To seek to draw a distinction between his teachings and those who followed him is to make a distinction where none exists. The more relevant thing to recognise is that to fight for the right thing is as much a part of the Sikh ideology as belief in the worship of the supreme being. The two cannot be delinked from each other; and this is what is basic to Guru Nanak's thinking and an integral part of his vision.

This is not an attempt to explain away some of the current distortions in contemporary Sikhism, as some people might think. Those have to be corrected and the balance set right. In doing so, however, it has to be ensured that the balance between contemplation and action is not undermined. It is this balance between the two which is unique to Sikhism. What the nature of this uniqueness is can be argued about. But that it is unique is something that will be readily assented to.

Second Stage of Classical Terrorism

Continued from page 4

the ten and a half months of the current year is double that of last year. Two days before that there were the devastating explosions in Pathankot and Jammu followed by the daylight brutal murder of Major-General B.N. Kumar, Chairman of the Bhakra Beas Management Board. It seems that the terrorists have shifted from rifles and guns to bombs, the second stage of classical terrorism. It will make the task of security forces in apprehending terrorists much more difficult as it requires much fewer persons to explode bombs and at much lesser risk. This is not to say that the security forces are slack in dealing with terrorists. In fact, they have killed and arrested many more terrorists than in previous years. But this has produced its own vicious cycle of killings, the security forces liquidating sus-

pected terrorists and the latter killing innocent persons. The increase in killings provides the rationale behind the extension of President's rule but this logic is

self-defeating. If the back of the terrorists is to be broken first, then the people of Punjab will have to wait for a long time for a political solution.

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From the House of

SIMCO HAIR FIXER

It's Hadlee!

By Navin Chand

Richard John Hadlee, the pace spearhead of the Kiwi attack, came to India with a mission. As a bowler, he dreamed to scale the dizzy heights of Gavaskar in the country of that superbatsman. On the opening day of the first Test at Bangalore, he achieved it with the first ball of his third over by luring Arun Lal (6) to snick a catch to third slip.

It was Hadlee's 374th Test wicket—a world record for maximum wickets. Hadlee achieved it in his 75th Test while England's Ian Botham had achieved his world record of 373 wickets in 94 Tests. As such, Hadlee has outdone Botham on both counts—more wickets in less number of Tests. Hadlee's superiority over Botham can also be seen in the light of the number of five wickets haul in an inning or 10 wickets in a match.

While Botham has taken five wickets on 27 occasions, Hadlee has the distinction of pocketing half the team on 33 occasions. His 33rd time achieved in India's first innings of the Bangalore Test. (See the details of his five wicket

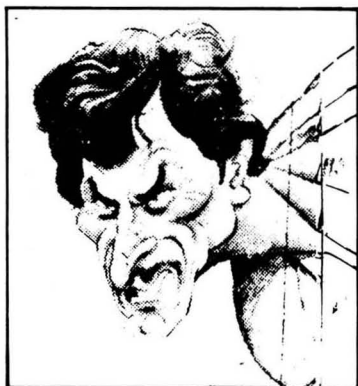
performance in the enclosed box).

Apart from five wickets in an inning, Hadlee's another world record is in ten wickets in a match (See box again). While Hadlee has done this performance on eight occasions (followed by six by Imran Khan) Botham has done it only on four occasions.

Generally, the Test-playing-span of a pace bowler is much less than of a spinner or a batsman for the obvious reasons of the required strength and energy. Richard Hadlee is 37 plus of age—an age years before when most of the pace bowlers hung up their boots. But the Kiwi paceman is an exception. Despite slowing down, he is performing better and better by supplementing his pace by accuracy of line and length and a clever use of the swing. He is decidedly more dangerous today than what he was during his prime days. If there are any chinks in the rival batsman's armour, he will exploit them ruthlessly. He will not tear in like a bull with a boil on its backside, but bowl with calm, detached wisdom attained in 15 years of Test cricket.

Hadlee Sets World Record

Hadlee is not among the most difficult bowlers to face. But he is capable of outsmarting any batsman by giving him a feeling of easiness.



Not for nothing, Hadlee has been regarded as the best strike bowler in contemporary Test cricket. He has had a strike rate of 5.04 wickets per Test followed by 4.58 wickets by Imran Khan and 3.96 by Ian Botham and 3.47 wickets per Test by Kapil Dev. Hadlee also enjoys two other bowling records in his name. Five wickets in an inning on 32 occasions—the best by any bowler. Botham 27 times, Imran 23 times and Kapil 19 times have bagged half the side.

Likewise, Hadlee has dismissed ten batsmen in a Test on eight occasions, again the best. He is followed by Imran 6 times, Botham four times and Kapil Dev twice.

1. Born on July 3, 1951 in New Zealand.
2. Made his debut on February 2, 1973 against Pakistan at Wellington and scored 46 runs

besides taking two wickets for 112 runs in two innings.

3. Hadlee's first scalp was Asif Iqbal of Pakistan.

4. His 50th wicket was Mohinder Amarnath at Kanpur on November 21, 1976. It was Hadlee's 14th Test.

5. He touched the milestone of 100 Test wickets in his 25th Test by dismissing Imran Khan of Pakistan at Napier (N.Z.) on February 17, 1979.

6. His 150th victim was Sunil Gavaskar at Christchurch (N.Z.) on March 6, 1979.

7. Hadlee got his 200th wicket in his 44th Test at Nottingham (England) by dismissing Norman Cowans in August 83.

8. His 250th wicket was that of Mohsin Khan of Pakistan at Dunedin (N.Z.) in February 85.

9. Hadlee became the sixth bowler in Test annals and first New Zealander to scale the rar-

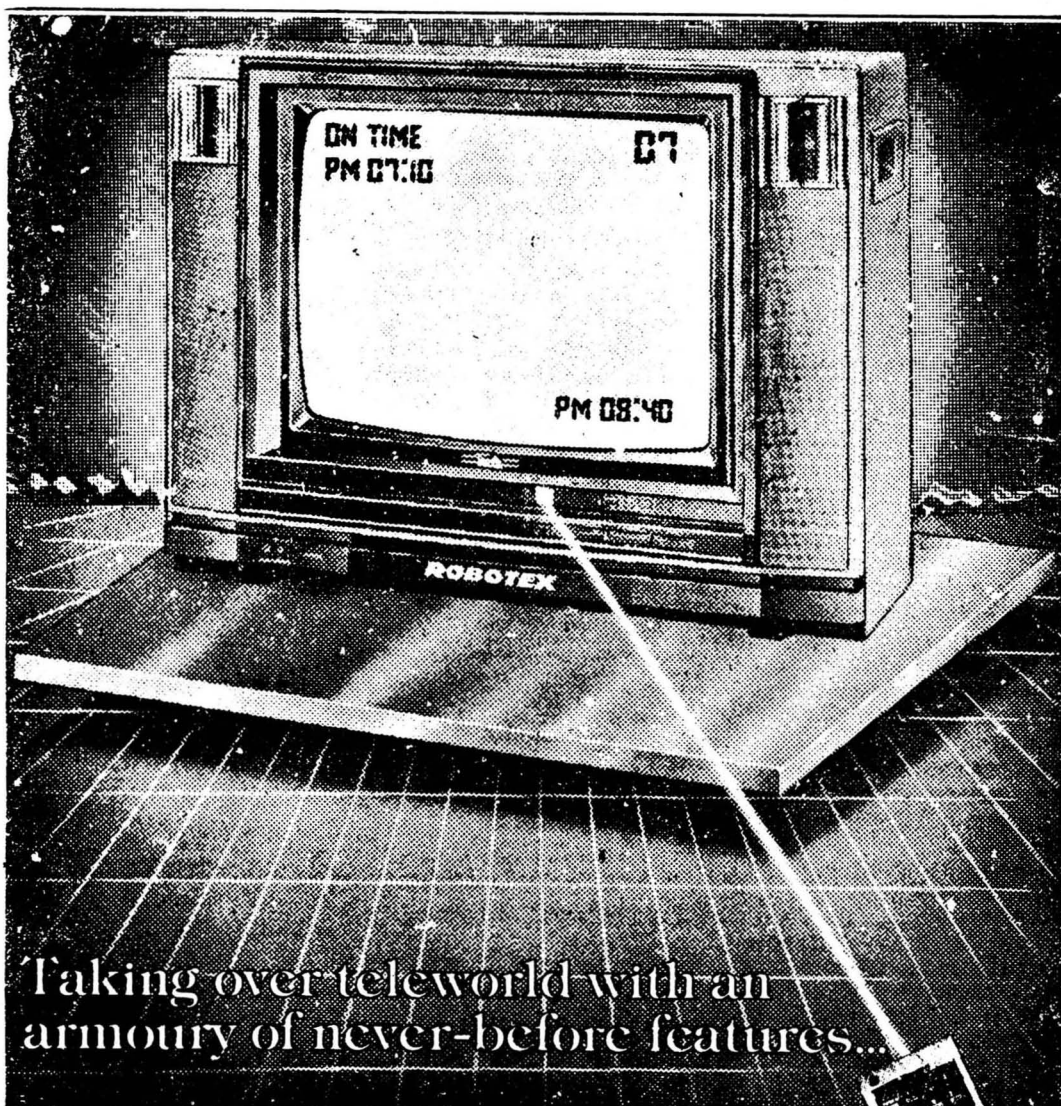
Continued on page 15

New Zealand-India Records

RESULTS (SERIES BY SERIES)

Season	Captains New Zealand	India	Test	Won by N.Z.	Won by Ind	Drawn
1955-56	H.B.Cave	P.R.Umrigar	5	-	2	3
1964-65	J.R.Reid	M.A.K.Pataudi	4	-	1	3
1967-68	G.T.Dowling	M.A.K.Pataudi	4	1	3	-
1969-70	G.T.Dowling	M.A.K.Pataudi	3	1	1	1
1975-76	G.M.Turner	B.S.Bedi	3	1	1	1
1976-77	G.M.Turner	B.S.Bedi	3	-	2	1
1980-81	G.P.Howarth	S.M.Gavaskar	3	1	-	2
		In India	15	1	6	8
		In New Zealand	10	3	4	3
		Total	25	4	10	11

Note: Gulam Ahmed captained India in the first test in 1955-56 series, B.W.Sinclair captained New Zealand in the first test in 1967-68 series, S.M.Gavaskar captained India in the first test in the 1980-81 series.



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